

PEKING REVIEW

26

June 23, 1967

社
京
周
報

ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

MAO TSE-TUNG

CHINA'S FIRST HYDROGEN BOMB SUCCESSFULLY EXPLODED

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing.

Quoted in *Premier Chou En-lai's Report on the Work of the Government to the First Session of the Third National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China* (December 21-22, 1964)

* * *

After the basic victory of the socialist revolution in our country, there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one.

On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People
(February 1957)

* * *

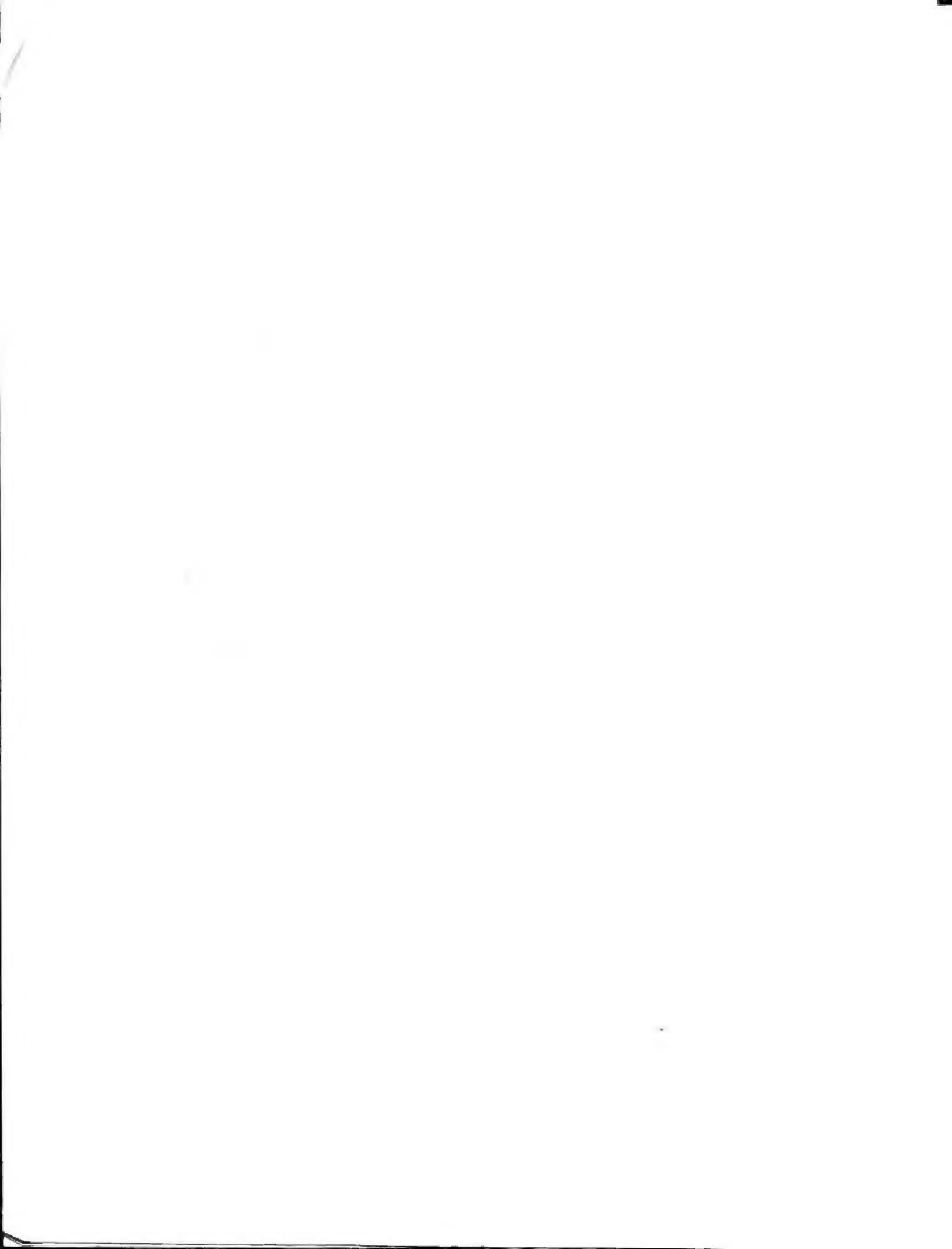
The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history.

On the Chungking Negotiations
(October 1945)



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman



Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao See "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold"



Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao and Comrade Chou En-lai with the actors and actresses.

Our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao saw *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, a revolutionary Peking opera on a contemporary theme presented by the Peking Opera Theatre of Shanghai on the evening of June 16.

At 8 p.m. when Chairman Mao walked briskly into the theatre, the band struck up *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*. Waving their copies of the red-covered treasured book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, all the spectators gave prolonged shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

Before the performance started, an actor came to the front of the stage and said with great feeling: "First, let us wish Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in our hearts, a long, long life! And let us wish Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms and our deputy supreme commander Lin Piao lasting good health!" The audience once again burst into repeated shouts: "Long live Chairman Mao!"

Watching the performance together with Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao were other leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and departments concerned:

Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Li Hsien-nien, Hsieh Fu-chih, Chiang Ching, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Su Yu, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Yao Wen-yuan, Yeh Chun and Wang Tung-hsing.

After the final curtain, amid thunderous applause, Chairman Mao and Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Chiang Ching and the other comrades went on stage to congratulate the actors and actresses and posed for a photograph with them. Brimming with joy, the audience shouted again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

CHINA'S FIRST HYDROGEN BOMB TEST

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out as far back as June 1958: I think it is entirely possible for some atom bombs and hydrogen bombs to be made in ten years' time.

- Amidst the song of decisive victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country, we solemnly announce to the people of China and the whole world that Chairman Mao's brilliant prediction and great call have been realized. We hail this fresh great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought, this fresh splendid achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Press Communique

Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out as far back as June 1958: I think it is entirely possible for some atom bombs and hydrogen bombs to be made in ten years' time.

Amidst the song of decisive victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country, we solemnly announce to the people of China and the whole world that this brilliant prediction, this great call, of Chairman Mao's has been realized. Today, on June 17, 1967, after the five nuclear tests in two years and eight months, China successfully exploded her first hydrogen bomb over the western region of the country.

The success of this hydrogen bomb test represents another leap in the development of China's nuclear weapons. It marks the entry of the development of China's nuclear weapons into an entirely new stage. The Chinese people are proud of this, and the revolutionary people the world over will also take it as a matter of pride. With happiness and elation, we hail this fresh great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought, this fresh splendid achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the Cul-

HYDROGEN BOMB SUCCESSFULLY EXPLODED

tural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee extend the warmest congratulations to all the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the workers, engineers, technicians and scientists and the other personnel who have been engaged in the research, manufacture and testing of the nuclear weapons. Under the correct leadership of the Party's Central Committee, Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, they have held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, kept proletarian politics in the fore, creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works, firmly upheld the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, resolutely opposed the revisionist line of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, grasped revolution and promoted production, given play to their collective wisdom and strength, co-operated closely with each other, surmounted all difficulties in the revolutionary spirit of "seize the day, seize the hour" and, opening up a path of their own, have ensured the smooth success of this hydrogen bomb test.

Chairman Mao has said: "In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing." It is hoped that the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the broad masses of the revolutionary workers and staff and the scientific and technical personnel—following these teachings of Chairman Mao and responding to the call of Comrade Lin Piao to "strengthen the revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense

of organization and discipline"—will guard against conceit and impetuosity, continue to exert themselves and win new and still greater merit in accelerating the development of our country's national defence science and technology and the modernization of our national defence.

China has got atom bombs and guided missiles, and she now has the hydrogen bomb. This greatly heightens the morale of the revolutionary people throughout the world and greatly deflates the arrogance of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. The success of China's hydrogen bomb test has further broken the nuclear monopoly of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and dealt a telling blow at their policy of nuclear blackmail. It is a very great encouragement and support to the Vietnamese people in their heroic war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to the Arab people in their resistance to aggression by the U.S. and British imperialists and their tool Israel and to the revolutionary people of the whole world.

Man is the factor that decides victory or defeat in war. The conducting of necessary and limited nuclear tests and the development of nuclear weapons by China are entirely for the purpose of defence, with the ultimate aim of abolishing nuclear weapons. We solemnly declare once again that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. We always mean what we say. As in the past, the Chinese people and Government will continue to make common efforts and carry on an unswerving struggle together with all the other peace-loving people and countries of the world for the noble aim of completely prohibiting and thoroughly destroying nuclear weapons.

(*Hsinhua News Agency, Peking,
June 17, 1967.*)

Welcome to Zambian President Kaunda

Kenneth David Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, arrived in Peking on June 21 on a state visit at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai.

An editorial published the same day in *Renmin Ribao* expressed the enthusiastic welcome of the Chinese Government and people for the distinguished Zambian guest. It paid tribute to the Zambian people who, under President Kaunda's leadership after winning independence in 1964, had achieved remarkable success in safeguarding their national independence and developing their national economy. The editorial also expressed the vigorous support of the Chinese people for Zambia's just stand in following a non-alignment policy in international affairs, opposing imperialism and new and old colonialism, and supporting the national-independence movement in Africa.

"The Chinese and Zambian peoples," said the editorial, "have forged a deep friendship in their common struggle against imperialism and new and old colonialism. The friendly relations between the two peoples have continually developed since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and no one can undermine their militant friendship."

The editorial added: "President Kaunda has come to our country on a state visit at a time when our great proletarian cultural revolution has won tremendous victories. During their visit, the distinguished guests will be able to see for themselves the spiritual outlook of the 700 million Chinese people who, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, dare to make revolution, dare to rebel and dare to create. They will also be able to see the great achievements of our nation's great proletarian cultural revolution, the Chinese people's resolute stand in giving firm support to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and oppressed peo-

ples, and their deep friendship for the people of Africa."

The *Renmin Ribao* editorial expressed the firm conviction that President Kaunda's visit would surely be conducive to the promotion of

mutual understanding between the Chinese and Zambian peoples, thereby contributing to the further development of Sino-Zambian friendly relations and to the cause of the Afro-Asian people's solidarity against imperialism.

China Reiterates Respect for Cambodia's Territorial Integrity

The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a statement issued on June 13, strongly condemned U.S. imperialism which, in collusion with its Thai and south Vietnamese puppet stooges, had continually carried out armed aggression against the Kingdom of Cambodia while constantly expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam. This had seriously menaced Cambodia's security. The Chinese Foreign Ministry's statement reiterated: The Chinese Government fully respects the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia within her present borders and will firmly oppose all scheming designs of U.S. imperialism and its Thai and south Vietnamese lackeys for encroaching on Cambodian territory.

In order to defend her state sovereignty and territorial integrity and smash the territorial ambitions of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys with regard to Cambodia, the Kingdom of Cambodia has dealt them firm counter-blows and issued two government communiques on November 2, 1966 and on May 9, 1967 respectively, calling on friendly countries to respect her territorial integrity within her present borders.

The Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam issued statements on May 31 and June 8, 1967 respectively, recognizing and undertaking to respect the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia within her present borders, recognizing and undertak-

ing to respect the present border between south Vietnam and Cambodia and strongly condemning U.S. imperialism and its lackeys Thailand and the south Vietnamese puppets for their plot of aggression against the Kingdom of Cambodia.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry's statement said: "The Chinese Government holds that the positions taken by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Royal Government of Cambodia not only accord with the interests of their peoples but are also conducive to the unity of the peoples of Indo-China in their common struggle against U.S. imperialism.

"Chairman Mao teaches us, 'The People's Republic of China consistently seeks to establish and develop friendly relations with all countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and carries out a good-neighbourly policy towards all our neighbouring countries.'

"Consistently following Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese Government and people have established and developed friendly relations with the Indo-Chinese states and respect their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. This just and solemn stand of the Chinese Government and people is known to all."

Erratum: In line 4, first column, page 7 of our last issue, for Wugtaiwan read Uthaiwan.

ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

MAO TSE-TUNG

(This is the text of a speech made on February 27, 1957 at the Eleventh Session [Enlarged] of the Supreme State Conference. The author went over the verbatim record and made certain additions before its publication in *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] on June 19 of the same year.)

OUR general subject is the correct handling of contradictions among the people. For the sake of convenience, let us discuss it under twelve sub-headings. Although reference will be made to contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, this discussion will centre mainly on contradictions among the people.

1. TWO DIFFERENT TYPES OF CONTRADICTIONS

Never before has our country been as united as it is today. The victories of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and our achievements in socialist construction have rapidly changed the face of old China. A still brighter future for our motherland lies ahead. The days of national disunity and chaos which the people detested have gone, never to return. Led by the working class and the Communist Party, our six hundred million people, united as one, are engaged in the great task of building socialism. The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities — these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause. However, this does not mean that contradictions no longer exist in our society. To imagine that none exist is a naive idea which is at variance with objective reality. We are confronted by two types of social contradictions — those between ourselves and

the enemy and those among the people themselves. The two are totally different in their nature.

To understand these two different types of contradictions correctly, we must first be clear on what is meant by "the people" and what is meant by "the enemy". The concept of "the people" varies in content in different countries and in different periods of history in the same country. Take our own country for example. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, all those classes, strata and social groups opposing Japanese aggression came within the category of the people, while the Japanese imperialists, the Chinese traitors and the pro-Japanese elements were all enemies of the people. During the War of Liberation, the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs — the bureaucrat-capitalists, the landlords and the Kuomintang reactionaries who represented these two classes — were the enemies of the people, while the other classes, strata and social groups, which opposed these enemies, all came within the category of the people. At the present stage, the period of building socialism, the classes, strata and social groups which favour, support and work for the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people.

The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic contradictions. Within the

ranks of the people, the contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic, while those between the exploited and the exploiting classes have a non-antagonistic aspect in addition to an antagonistic aspect. There have always been contradictions among the people, but their content differs in each period of the revolution and in the period of socialist construction. In the conditions prevailing in China today, the contradictions among the people comprise the contradictions within the working class, the contradictions within the peasantry, the contradictions within the intelligentsia, the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry, the contradictions between the workers and peasants on the one hand and the intellectuals on the other, the contradictions between the working class and other sections of the working people on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie on the other, the contradictions within the national bourgeoisie, and so on. Our People's Government is one that genuinely represents the people's interests, it is a government that serves the people. Nevertheless, there are still certain contradictions between the government and the people. These include contradictions among the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual; between democracy and centralism; between the leadership and the led; and the contradiction arising from the bureaucratic style of work of certain government workers in their relations with the masses. All these are also contradictions among the people. Generally speaking, the people's basic identity of interests underlies the contradictions among the people.

In our country, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie belongs to the category of contradictions among the people. By and large, the class struggle between the two is a class struggle within the ranks of the people, because the Chinese national bourgeoisie has a dual character. In the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it had both a revolutionary and a conciliationist side to its character. In the period of the socialist revolution, exploitation of the working class for profit constitutes one side of the character of the national bourgeoisie, while its support of the Constitution and its willingness to accept socialist transformation constitute the other. The national bourgeoisie differs from the imperialists, the landlords and the bureaucrat-capitalists. The contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the working class is one between the exploiter and the exploited, and is by nature antagonistic. But in the concrete conditions of China, this antagonistic class contradiction can, if properly handled, be transformed into a non-antagonistic one and be resolved

by peaceful methods. However, it will change into a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy if we do not handle it properly and do not follow the policy of uniting with, criticizing and educating the national bourgeoisie, or if the national bourgeoisie does not accept this policy of ours.

Since they are different in nature, the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people must be resolved by different methods. To put it briefly, the former are a matter of drawing a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy, and the latter a matter of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong. It is, of course, true that the distinction between ourselves and the enemy is also a matter of right and wrong. For example, the question of who is in the right, we or the domestic and foreign reactionaries, the imperialists, the feudalists and bureaucrat-capitalists, is also a matter of right and wrong, but it is in a different category from questions of right and wrong among the people.

Our state is a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. What is this dictatorship for? Its first function is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters in our country who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction, or in other words, to resolve the internal contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. For instance, to arrest, try and sentence certain counter-revolutionaries, and to deprive landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists of their right to vote and their freedom of speech for a specified period of time—all this comes within the scope of our dictatorship. To maintain public order and safeguard the interests of the people, it is likewise necessary to exercise dictatorship over embezzlers, swindlers, arsonists, murderers, criminal gangs and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order. The second function of this dictatorship is to protect our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. In that event, it is the task of this dictatorship to resolve the external contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. The aim of this dictatorship is to protect all our people so that they can devote themselves to peaceful labour and build China into a socialist country with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. Who is to exercise this dictatorship? Naturally, the working class and the entire people under its leadership. Dictatorship does not apply within the ranks of the people. The people cannot exercise dictatorship over themselves, nor must one section of the people oppress another. Law-breaking elements among the people will be punished according to law, but this

is different in principle from the exercise of dictatorship to suppress enemies of the people. What applies among the people is democratic centralism. Our Constitution lays it down that citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration, religious belief, and so on. Our Constitution also provides that the organs of state must practise democratic centralism, that they must rely on the masses and that their personnel must serve the people. Our socialist democracy is democracy in the broadest sense such as is not to be found in any capitalist country. Our dictatorship is the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. That is to say, democracy operates within the ranks of the people, while the working class, uniting with all others enjoying civil rights, and in the first place with the peasantry, enforces dictatorship over the reactionary classes and elements and all those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction. By civil rights, we mean, politically, the rights of freedom and democracy.

But this freedom is freedom with leadership and this democracy is democracy under centralized guidance, not anarchy. Anarchy does not accord with the interests or wishes of the people.

Certain people in our country were delighted by the events in Hungary. They hoped that something similar would happen in China, that thousands upon thousands of people would demonstrate in the streets against the People's Government. Their hopes ran counter to the interests of the masses and therefore could not possibly win their support. Deceived by domestic and foreign counter-revolutionaries, a section of the people in Hungary made the mistake of resorting to acts of violence against the People's Government, with the result that both the state and the people suffered. The damage done to the country's economy in a few weeks of rioting will take a long time to repair. There are other people in our country who wavered on the question of the Hungarian events because they were ignorant of the real state of affairs in the world. They think that there is too little freedom under our people's democracy and that there is more freedom under Western parliamentary democracy. They ask for a two-party system as in the West, with one party in office and the other out of office. But this so-called two-party system is nothing but a device for maintaining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; it can never guarantee freedom to the working people. As a matter of fact, freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people,

there is no freedom for the working people nor to be exploited, and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people. The legal existence of the Communist Party is tolerated in some capitalist countries, but only to the extent that it does not endanger the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie; it is not tolerated beyond that. Those who demand freedom and democracy in the abstract regard democracy as an end and not a means. Democracy sometimes seems to be an end, but it is in fact only a means. Marxism teaches us that democracy is part of the superstructure and belongs to the category of polities. That is to say, in the last analysis, it serves the economic base. The same is true of freedom. Both democracy and freedom are relative, not absolute, and they come into being and develop in specific historical conditions. Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline. All this is well understood by the broad masses of the people.

In advocating freedom with leadership and democracy under centralized guidance, we in no way mean that coercive measures should be taken to settle ideological questions or questions involving the distinction between right and wrong among the people. All attempts to use administrative orders or coercive measures to settle ideological questions or questions of right and wrong are not only ineffective but harmful. We cannot abolish religion by administrative decree or force people not to believe in it. We cannot compel people to give up idealism, any more than we can force them to believe in Marxism. The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression. To be able to carry on their production and studies effectively and to arrange their lives properly, the people want their government and those in charge of production and of cultural and educational organizations to issue appropriate orders of an obligatory nature. It is common sense that the main-

tenance of public order would be impossible without such administrative regulations. Administrative orders and the method of persuasion and education complement each other in resolving contradictions among the people. Even administrative regulations for the maintenance of public order must be accompanied by persuasion and education, for in many cases regulations alone will not work.

This democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people was epitomized in 1942 in the formula "unity, criticism, unity". To elaborate, it means starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. In our experience this is the correct method of resolving contradictions among the people. In 1942 we used it to resolve contradictions inside the Communist Party, namely, the contradictions between the dogmatists and the great majority of the membership, and between dogmatism and Marxism. The "Left" dogmatists had resorted to the method of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" in inner-Party struggle. This method was incorrect. In criticizing "Left" dogmatism, we discarded this old method and adopted a new one, that is, one of starting from the desire for unity, distinguishing between right and wrong through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. This was the method used in the rectification movement of 1942. Thus within a few years, by the time the Chinese Communist Party held its Seventh National Congress in 1945, unity was achieved throughout the Party, and as a consequence the great victory of the people's revolution was won. The essential thing is to start from the desire for unity. For without this desire for unity, the struggle is certain to get out of hand. Wouldn't this be the same as "ruthless struggle and merciless blows"? And what Party unity would there be left? It was this very experience that led us to the formula: "unity, criticism, unity". Or, in other words, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient". We extended this method beyond our Party. We applied it with great success in the anti-Japanese base areas in dealing with the relations between the leadership and the masses, between the army and the people, between officers and men, between the different units of the army, and between the different groups of cadres. The use of this method can be traced back to still earlier times in our Party's history. It has been used ever since the building of our revolutionary armed forces and base areas in the south in 1927 to deal with the relations between the Party and the masses, between the army and the people, between officers and men, and other relations among the people. The only difference is

that during the anti-Japanese war, we employed this method with much greater consciousness of purpose. And since the liberation of the whole country, we have employed this same method of "unity, criticism, unity" in our relations with the democratic parties and with industrial and commercial circles. Our task now is to continue to extend and make still better use of this method throughout the ranks of the people; we want all our factories, co-operatives, business establishments, schools, government offices and public organizations, in a word, all our six hundred million people, to use it in resolving contradictions among ourselves.

In ordinary circumstances, contradictions among the people are not antagonistic. But if they are not handled properly, or if we relax our vigilance and lower our guard, antagonism may arise. In a socialist country, a development of this kind is usually only a localized and temporary phenomenon. The reason is that the system of exploitation of man by man has been abolished and the interests of the people are basically the same. The antagonistic actions which took place on a fairly wide scale during the Hungarian events were the result of the operations of both domestic and foreign counter-revolutionary elements. This was a special as well as temporary phenomenon. It was a case of reactionaries inside a socialist country, in league with the imperialists, attempting to achieve their conspiratorial aims by taking advantage of contradictions among the people to foment dissension and stir up disorder. This lesson of the Hungarian events merits attention.

Many people seem to think that the question of using democratic methods to resolve contradictions among the people is a new one. Actually it is not. Marxists have always held that the cause of the proletariat must depend on the masses of the people and that Communists must use the democratic method of persuasion and education when working among the labouring people and must on no account resort to commandism or coercion. The Chinese Communist Party faithfully adheres to this Marxist-Leninist principle. It has been our consistent view that, under the people's democratic dictatorship, two different methods, one dictatorial and the other democratic, should be used to resolve the two different kinds of contradictions — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. This idea has been explained again and again in our Party documents and in speeches by many responsible Party leaders. In my article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" written in 1949, I said, "The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, is the people's democratic dictatorship." I also pointed out that, in order to settle

problems within the ranks of the people, "the method we employ is democratic, the method of persuasion, not of compulsion". Again, in addressing the Second Session of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference in June 1950, I said:

The people's democratic dictatorship uses two methods. Towards the enemy, it uses the method of dictatorship, that is, for as long a period of time as is necessary it does not let them take part in political activities and compels them to obey the law of the People's Government and to engage in labour and, through labour, transform themselves into new men. Towards the people, on the contrary, it uses the method not of compulsion but of democracy, that is, it must necessarily let them take part in political activities and does not compel them to do this or that, but uses the method of democracy in educating and persuading them. This education is self-education within the ranks of the people, and the basic method of self-education is criticism and self-criticism.

Thus, on many occasions we have discussed the use of the democratic method for resolving contradictions among the people; furthermore, we have in the main applied it in our work, and many cadres and many other people are familiar with it in practice. Why then do some people now feel that it is a new issue? Because, in the past, the struggle between ourselves and the enemy, both internal and external, was most acute, and contradictions among the people therefore did not attract as much attention as they do today.

Quite a few people fail to make a clear distinction between these two different types of contradictions — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people — and are prone to confuse the two. It must be admitted that it is sometimes quite easy to do so. We have had instances of such confusion in our work in the past. In the course of suppressing counter-revolutionaries, good people were sometimes mistaken for bad, and such things still happen today. We are able to keep our mistakes within bounds because it has been our policy to draw a sharp line between ourselves and the enemy and to rectify mistakes whenever discovered.

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change. Contradictions exist everywhere, but they differ in accordance with the different nature of different things. In any

given phenomenon or thing, the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transitory, and hence relative, whereas the struggle of opposites is absolute. Lenin gave a very clear exposition of this law. In our country, a growing number of people have come to understand it. For many people, however, acceptance of this law is one thing, and its application in examining and dealing with problems is quite another. Many dare not openly admit that contradictions still exist among the people of our country, although it is these very contradictions that are pushing our society forward. Many do not admit that contradictions continue to exist in a socialist society, with the result that they are handicapped and passive when confronted with social contradictions; they do not understand that socialist society will grow more united and consolidated through the ceaseless process of the correct handling and resolving of contradictions. For this reason, we need to explain things to our people, and to our cadres in the first place, in order to help them understand the contradictions in a socialist society and learn to use correct methods for handling these contradictions.

Contradictions in a socialist society are fundamentally different from those in the old societies, such as capitalist society. In capitalist society contradictions find expression in acute antagonisms and conflicts, in sharp class struggle; they cannot be resolved by the capitalist system itself and can only be resolved by socialist revolution. On the contrary, the case is different with contradictions in socialist society, where they are not antagonistic and can be resolved one after another by the socialist system itself.

The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. However, they are fundamentally different in character and have different features from the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in the old societies. The present social system of our country is far superior to that of the old days. If it were not so, the old system would not have been overthrown and the new system could not have been established. In saying that socialist relations of production are better suited to the development of the productive forces than are the old relations of production, we mean that they permit the productive forces to develop at a speed unattainable in the old society, so that production can expand steadily to meet the constantly growing needs of the people step by step. Under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism, the productive forces of old China developed very slow-

ly. For more than fifty years before liberation, China produced only a few tens of thousands of tons of steel a year, not counting the output of the north-eastern provinces. If these provinces are included, the peak annual steel output only amounted to just over 900,000 tons. In 1949, national steel output was only a little over 100,000 tons. Yet now, a mere seven years after the liberation of our country, steel output already exceeds four million tons. In old China, there was hardly any machine-building industry, to say nothing of automobile and aviation industries; now, we have all three. When the people overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, many were not clear as to which way China should head — towards capitalism or towards socialism. Facts have now provided the answer: only socialism can save China. The socialist system has promoted the rapid development of the productive forces of our country; this is a fact even our enemies abroad have had to acknowledge.

But our socialist system has only just been set up; it is not yet fully established or fully consolidated. In joint state-private industrial and commercial enterprises, capitalists still receive a fixed rate of interest on their capital, that is to say, exploitation still exists. So far as ownership is concerned, these enterprises are not yet completely socialist in character. Some of our agricultural and handicraft producers' co-operatives are still semi-socialist, while even in the fully socialist co-operatives certain problems of ownership remain to be solved. Relations between production and exchange in accordance with socialist principles are still being gradually established in various departments of our economy, and more and more appropriate forms are being sought. To decide the proper ratio between accumulation and consumption within each of the two sectors of socialist economy — that in which the means of production are owned by the whole people and that in which the means of production are collectively owned — and also between the two sectors themselves is a complicated problem for which it is not easy to work out a perfectly rational solution all at once. To sum up, socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the developing productive forces, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base. The superstructure consisting of the state system and laws of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist ideology

guided by Marxism-Leninism plays a positive role in facilitating the victory of socialist transformation and the establishment of the socialist organization of labour; it is suited to the socialist economic base, that is, to socialist relations of production. But survivals of bourgeois ideology, certain bureaucratic ways of doing things in our state organs and defects in certain links in our state institutions are in contradiction with the socialist economic base. We must continue to resolve all such contradictions in the light of our specific conditions. Of course, new problems will emerge as these contradictions are resolved. And further efforts will be required to resolve the new contradictions. For instance, a constant process of readjustment through state planning is needed to deal with the contradiction between production and the needs of society, which will long remain as an objective reality. Every year our country draws up an economic plan in order to establish a proper ratio between accumulation and consumption and achieve a balance between production and needs. Balance is nothing but a temporary, relative unity of opposites. By the end of each year, this balance, taken as a whole, is upset by the struggle of opposites; the unity undergoes a change, balance becomes imbalance, unity becomes disunity, and once again it is necessary to work out a balance and unity for the next year. Herein lies the superiority of our planned economy. As a matter of fact, this balance, this unity, is partially upset every month or every quarter, and partial readjustments are called for. Sometimes, contradictions arise and the balance is upset because our subjective arrangements do not correspond to objective reality; this is what we call making a mistake. The ceaseless emergence and ceaseless resolution of contradictions is the dialectical law of the development of things.

Today, matters stand as follows. The large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main ended, but class struggle is by no means entirely over. While welcoming the new system, the broad masses of the people are not yet quite accustomed to it. Government workers are not sufficiently experienced and have to undertake further study and exploration of specific policies. In other words, time is needed for our socialist system to become established and consolidated, for the masses to become accustomed to the new system, and for the government workers to learn and acquire experience. It is therefore imperative at this juncture that we should raise the question of distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy, as well as the question of the correct handling of contradictions among the people, so as to unite the people

of all nationalities in our country for a new battle, the battle against nature, to develop our economy and culture, to help the whole nation to traverse this period of transition fairly smoothly, to consolidate our new system and build up our new state.

II. THE QUESTION OF THE SUPPRESSION OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES

The question of suppressing counter-revolutionaries is one of a struggle between ourselves and the enemy, a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. Among the people, there are some who see this question in a somewhat different light. Two kinds of persons hold views different from ours. Those with a Rightist way of thinking make no distinction between ourselves and the enemy and take the enemy for our own people. They regard as friends the very persons whom the broad masses regard as enemies. Those with a "Left" way of thinking magnify contradictions between ourselves and the enemy to such an extent that they take certain contradictions among the people for contradictions with the enemy and regard as counter-revolutionaries persons who are actually not counter-revolutionaries. Both these views are wrong. Neither can lead to the correct handling of the question of suppressing counter-revolutionaries or to a correct assessment of this work.

To form a correct evaluation of our work in suppressing counter-revolutionaries, let us see what effect the Hungarian events have had in China. After their occurrence there was some unrest among a section of our intellectuals, but there were no squalls. Why? One reason, it must be said, is that we had succeeded in suppressing the counter-revolutionaries quite thoroughly.

Of course, the consolidation of our state is not primarily due to the suppression of counter-revolution. It is due primarily to the fact that we have a Communist Party, a Liberation Army and a working people tempered in decades of revolutionary struggle. Our Party and our armed forces are rooted in the masses; they have been tempered in the flames of a protracted revolution; they have the capacity to fight. Our People's Republic was not built overnight, but developed step by step out of the revolutionary base areas. Some democratic personages have also been tempered in the struggle in varying degrees, and they have gone through troubled times together with us. Some intellectuals were tempered in the struggles against imperialism and reaction; since liberation many of them have gone through a process of ideological remoulding aimed at enabling

them to distinguish clearly between ourselves and the enemy. In addition, the consolidation of our state is due to the fact that our economic measures are basically sound, that the people's livelihood is secure and is steadily improving, that our policies towards the national bourgeoisie and other classes are correct, and so on. Nevertheless, our success in suppressing counter-revolutionaries is undoubtedly an important reason for the consolidation of our state. For all these reasons, with few exceptions our college students are patriotic and support socialism, although many of them come from other than working class families; they did not give way to unrest during the Hungarian events. The same was true of the national bourgeoisie, to say nothing of the basic masses — the workers and peasants.

After liberation, we rooted out a number of counter-revolutionaries. Some were sentenced to death for major crimes. This was absolutely necessary, it was the demand of the broad masses of the people, it was done to free the masses from long years of oppression by the counter-revolutionaries and all kinds of local tyrants; in other words, it was done to liberate the productive forces. If we had not done so, the masses would not have been able to lift their heads. Since 1956, however, there has been a radical change in the situation. In the country as a whole, the bulk of the counter-revolutionaries have been cleared out. Our basic task has changed from unsettling the productive forces to protecting and expanding them in the context of the new relations of production. Because of their failure to understand that our present policy fits the present situation and our past policy fitted the past situation, some people want to make use of the present policy to reverse decisions on past cases and to deny the great success we achieved in suppressing counter-revolution. This is quite wrong, and the masses will not permit it.

Successes were the main thing in our work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries, but there were also mistakes. In some cases there were excesses and in others counter-revolutionaries slipped through our net. Our policy is: "Counter-revolutionaries must be suppressed wherever found, mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered." Our line in the work of suppressing counter-revolution is the mass line. Of course, even with the mass line mistakes may still occur in our work, but they will be fewer and easier to correct. The masses gain experience through struggle. From what is done correctly they learn how things should be done. From what is done wrong they learn useful lessons as to how mistakes should be avoided.

Wherever mistakes have been discovered in the work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries, steps

have been or are being taken to correct them. Those not yet discovered will be corrected as soon as they come to light. Decisions on exoneration or rehabilitation should be made known as widely as were the original wrong decisions. I propose that a comprehensive review of the work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries be made this year or next to sum up experience and encourage standing up for what is right and combating what is evil. Nationally, this review should be in the charge of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the Standing Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, and locally, in the charge of the provincial and municipal people's councils and the committees of the People's Political Consultative Conference. In this review, we must help the large numbers of cadres and activists involved in the work, and not pour cold water on them. It would not be right to dampen their spirits. Nonetheless, wrongs must be righted when they are discovered. This must be the attitude of all the public security organs, the procurators' offices and the judicial departments, prisons and agencies charged with the reform of criminals through labour. We hope that wherever possible members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and of the People's Political Consultative Conference and the people's deputies will take part in this review. This will be of help in perfecting our legal system and in dealing correctly with counter-revolutionaries and other criminals.

The present situation with regard to counter-revolutionaries can be described in these words: There still are counter-revolutionaries, but not many. In the first place, there still are counter-revolutionaries. Some people say that there aren't any more and all is at peace and that we can therefore lay our heads on our pillows and just drop off to sleep. But this is not the way things are. The fact is, there still are counter-revolutionaries (of course, that is not to say you'll find them everywhere and in every organization), and we must continue to fight them. It must be understood that the hidden counter-revolutionaries still at large will not take things lying down, but will certainly seize every opportunity to make trouble. The U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique are constantly sending in secret agents to carry on disruptive activities. Even after all the existing counter-revolutionaries have been combed out, new ones may emerge. If we drop our guard, we shall be badly fooled and shall suffer severely. Counter-revolutionaries must be rooted out with a firm hand wherever they are found making trouble. But, taking the country as a whole, there are certainly not many counter-revolutionaries. It would be

wrong to say that there are still large numbers of counter-revolutionaries in China. Acceptance of that view would also end up in a mess.

III. THE QUESTION OF AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION

We have a rural population of over five hundred million, so the situation of our peasants has a most important bearing on the development of our economy and the consolidation of our state power. In my view, the situation is basically sound. Agricultural co-operatives have been successfully organized, and this has resolved the great contradiction in our country between socialist industrialization and individual peasant farming. As the co-operative transformation of agriculture was completed so rapidly, some people were worried and wondered whether something untoward might occur. There are indeed some faults but, fortunately, they are not serious, and on the whole the movement is healthy. The peasants are working with a will and last year, despite the worst floods, droughts and typhoons in years, there was an increase in grain output. Now there are people who are stirring up a miniature typhoon: they are grousing that co-operative farming is no good, that it is not superior to individual farming. Is agricultural co-operation superior or not? Among the documents distributed at today's meeting is one about the Wang Kuo-fan Co-operative in Tsunhua County, Hopei Province, which I suggest you read. This co-operative is situated in a hilly region which was very poor in the past and which for a number of years depended on relief grain from the People's Government. When the co-operative was first set up in 1953, people called it the "paupers' co-op". But it has become better off year by year, and now, after four years of hard struggle, most of its households have reserves of grain. What this co-operative could do, other co-operatives should also be able to do under normal conditions in the same period or slightly longer. Clearly then there are no grounds for saying that something has gone wrong with agricultural co-operation.

It is also clear that it takes hard struggle to build up co-operatives. New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts.

Who are the active supporters of the co-operatives? The overwhelming majority of the poor peasants and lower middle peasants, who account

for more than 70 per cent of the rural population. Most of the rest are also hopeful about the co-operatives. Only a very small minority are really dissatisfied. Failing to analyse this situation, quite a number of persons have taken part of the picture for the whole, without making an overall examination of the achievements and shortcomings of the co-operatives and the causes of these shortcomings; thus a miniature typhoon has started up among some people, who argue that the co-operatives are not superior.

How long will it take to consolidate the co-operatives or end these arguments about their not being superior? Judging from the experience of the development of many co-operatives, it will probably take five years or a little longer. As most of our co-operatives are only a little over a year old, it would be unreasonable to ask too much of them. In my view, we will be doing well enough if the co-operatives can be consolidated during the Second Five-Year Plan after being established in the First.

The co-operatives are now in the process of gradual consolidation. Certain contradictions remain to be resolved, such as those between the state and the co-operatives and those among and within the co-operatives themselves.

We must give constant attention to problems of production and distribution as the way to resolve these contradictions. Take the question of production. The co-operative economy must be subject to the unified economic planning of the state, while retaining a certain leeway and independence of action that are not incompatible with the state's unified plan or with its policies, laws and regulations. At the same time, every household in a co-operative must comply with the overall plan of the co-operative or production team to which it belongs, apart from any appropriate plans it makes for itself in regard to land allotted for private use and to other economic undertakings left to private management. On the question of the distribution of income, we must take account of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. We must properly handle the three-way relationship between the state agricultural tax, the co-operative's accumulation fund and the peasants' personal income, and take constant care to make readjustments so as to resolve contradictions between them. Accumulation is essential both for the state and for the co-operative, but in neither case should it be excessive. We should do everything possible to enable the peasants to raise their personal incomes year by year in normal years on the basis of increased production.

Many people say that the peasants lead a hard life. Is this true? In one sense it is. That is to say,

because the imperialists and their agents oppressed and exploited us for over a century, ours is an impoverished country and the standard of living not only of our peasants but of our workers and intellectuals is still low. We will need several decades of intensive effort to raise the standard of living of our entire people step by step. In this sense, "hard" is the right word. But in another sense, it is not true. We refer to the allegation that, in the seven years since liberation, improvements have taken place only in the life of the workers and not in that of the peasants. As a matter of fact, with very few exceptions, there has been some improvement in the peasants' life as well as in that of the workers. Since liberation, the peasants have been free from landlord exploitation and their production has increased year by year. Take grain crops. In 1949, the country's output was only something over 210,000 million catties. By 1956, it had risen to something over 360,000 million catties, an increase of nearly 150,000 million catties. The state agricultural tax is not heavy, only amounting to some 30,000 million catties a year. State purchases of grain from the peasants at standard prices only amount to something over 50,000 million catties a year. These two items together total over 80,000 million catties. Furthermore, more than half this grain is sold back to the villages and nearby towns. Obviously no one can say that there has been no improvement in the life of the peasants. We are preparing to stabilize the total annual amount of the grain tax plus the grain purchased by the state at approximately 80,000 million catties in the next few years, so as to help agriculture to develop and the co-operatives to become consolidated. In this way, the small number of grain-deficient households still found in the countryside will cease to go short, and all peasant households, with the exception of some growing industrial crops, will have grain reserves or at least become self-sufficient; there will be no more poor peasants and the standard of living of the entire peasantry will reach or surpass the middle peasant level. It is not right simply to compare a peasant's average annual income with a worker's and draw the conclusion that one is too low and the other too high. The productivity of the workers is much higher than that of the peasants, while the latter's cost of living is much lower than that of workers in the cities, so the workers cannot be said to have received special favours from the state. However, the wages of a small number of workers and some government personnel are a bit too high, and the peasants have reason to be dissatisfied with this, so it is necessary to make certain appropriate readjustments according to specific circumstances.

IV. THE QUESTION OF INDUSTRIALISTS AND MERCHANTS

With regard to the transformation of our social system, the year 1956 saw the conversion of privately owned industrial and commercial enterprises into joint state-private enterprises, in addition to the organization of co-operatives in agriculture and handicrafts. The speed and smoothness of this conversion were closely related to our treatment of the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie as a contradiction among the people. Has this class contradiction been completely resolved? No, not yet. That will still take a considerable period of time. However, some people say the capitalists have been so remoulded that they are now not much different from the workers and that further remoulding is unnecessary. Others go so far as to say that the capitalists are now even a little better than the workers. Still others ask, if remoulding is necessary, why doesn't the working class undergo remoulding? Are these opinions correct? Of course not.

In the building of a socialist society, everybody needs remoulding — the exploiters and also the working people. Who says the working class does not need it? Of course, the remoulding of the exploiters is qualitatively different from that of the working people, and the two must not be confused. The working class remoulds the whole of society in class struggle and in the struggle against nature, and at the same time remoulds itself. It must ceaselessly learn in the course of its work and overcome its shortcomings step by step, and must never stop doing so. Take those of us who are present here for example. Many of us make some progress each year; that is to say, we are being remoulded each year. For myself, I had all sorts of non-Marxist ideas before, and it was only later that I embraced Marxism. I learned a little Marxism from books and so made an initial remoulding of my ideas, but it was mainly through taking part in the class struggle over the years that I came to be remoulded. And I must continue to learn if I am to make further progress, or otherwise I shall lag behind. Can the capitalists be so good that they need no more remoulding?

Some people contend that the Chinese bourgeoisie no longer has two sides to its character, but only one side. Is this true? No. While members of the bourgeoisie have become administrative personnel in joint state-private enterprises and are being transformed from exploiters into working people living by their own labour, they still receive a fixed rate of interest on their share of capital in the joint enterprises, that is, they have not yet cut

themselves loose from the roots of exploitation. Between them and the working class there is still a considerable gap in ideology, sentiments and habits of life. How is it possible to say that they no longer have two sides to their character? Even when they stop receiving their fixed interest payments and the "bourgeois" label is removed, they will still need ideological remoulding for quite some time. If the bourgeoisie no longer had a dual character as these people maintain, then the capitalists would no longer have the task of studying and of remoulding themselves.

It must be said that this view does not tally either with the actual situation of our industrialists and merchants or with what most of them want. During the past few years, most of them have been willing to study and have made marked progress. Their thorough remoulding can be achieved only in the course of work; they should work together with the staff and workers in the enterprises, and regard the enterprises as the chief places in which to remould themselves. But it is also important for them to change some of their old views through study. Such study should be on a voluntary basis. When they return to the enterprises after attending study groups for some weeks, many industrialists and merchants find that they have more of a common language with the workers and representatives of the state shareholdings, and so there are better possibilities for working together. They know from personal experience that it is good for them to keep on studying and remoulding themselves. The idea that study and remoulding are not necessary reflects the views not of the majority of industrialists and merchants but only of a small number.

V. THE QUESTION OF THE INTELLECTUALS

The contradictions within the ranks of the people in our country also find expression among the intellectuals. The several million intellectuals who worked for the old society have come to serve the new society, and the question that now arises is how they can fit in with the needs of the new society and how we can help them to do so. This, too, is a contradiction among the people.

Most of our intellectuals have made marked progress during the last seven years. They have expressed themselves in favour of the socialist system. Many are diligently studying Marxism, and some have become communists. The latter, though small in number, are steadily growing. Of course, there are still some intellectuals who are sceptical about socialism or who do not approve of it, but they are a minority.

China needs the services of as many intellectuals as possible for the colossal task of socialist construction. We should trust the intellectuals who are really willing to serve the cause of socialism, and should radically improve our relations with them and help them solve any problems requiring solution, so that they can give full play to their talents. Many of our comrades are not good at uniting with intellectuals. They are too crude in dealing with them, lack respect for their work, and interfere in certain matters in scientific and cultural work where interference is unwarranted. We must do away with all such shortcomings.

The mass of intellectuals have made some progress, but they should not be complacent. They must continue to remould themselves, gradually shed their bourgeois world outlook and acquire the proletarian, communist world outlook so that they can fully fit in with the needs of the new society and unite with the workers and peasants. This change in world outlook is something fundamental, and up till now most of our intellectuals cannot be said to have accomplished it. We hope that they will continue to make progress and that, in the course of work and study, they will gradually acquire the communist world outlook, get a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism and become integrated with the workers and peasants. We hope they will not stop halfway, or, what is worse, slip back, for there will be no future for them in going backwards. Since our country's social system has changed and the economic base of bourgeois ideology has in the main been destroyed, not only is it necessary for large numbers of our intellectuals to change their world outlook, but they also have the possibility of doing so. But a thorough change in world outlook takes a very long time, and we should work patiently and not be impetuous. Actually, there are bound to be some who will always be ideologically reluctant to accept Marxism-Leninism and communism. We should not be too exacting in what we expect of them; as long as they comply with the requirements of the state and engage in legitimate pursuits, we should give them opportunities for suitable work.

Recently there has been a falling off in ideological and political work among students and intellectuals, and some unhealthy tendencies have appeared. Some people seem to think that there is no longer any need to concern oneself with politics or with the future of the motherland and the ideals of mankind. It seems as if Marxism was once all the rage but is currently not so much in fashion. To counter these tendencies, we must strengthen our ideological and political work. Both students and intellectuals should study hard. In addition to the study of their specialized subjects, they must make

progress both ideologically and politically, which means that they should study Marxism, current events and politics. Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul. The ideological remoulding carried on in the past was necessary and has yielded positive results. But it was carried on in a somewhat rough and ready fashion and the feelings of some people were hurt — this was not good. We must avoid such shortcomings in future. All departments and organizations should shoulder their responsibilities in ideological and political work. This applies to the Communist Party, the Youth League, government departments in charge of this work, and especially to heads of educational institutions and teachers. Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture. We must spread the idea of building our country through diligence and frugality. We must help all our young people to understand that ours is still a very poor country, that we cannot change this situation radically in a short time, and that only through the united efforts of our younger generation and all our people, working with their own hands, can China be made strong and prosperous within a period of several decades. The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality needs hard work. Some of our young people think that everything ought to be perfect once a socialist society is established and that they should be able to enjoy a happy life ready-made, without working for it. This is unrealistic.

VI. THE QUESTION OF THE MINORITY NATIONALITIES

The minority nationalities in our country number more than thirty million people. Although they constitute only 6 per cent of the total population, they inhabit extensive regions which altogether comprise 50 to 60 per cent of China's total area. It is imperative to foster good relations between the Han people and the minority nationalities. The key to this question lies in overcoming Han chauvinism. At the same time, efforts should also be made to overcome local nationalism, wherever it exists among the minority nationalities. Both Han chauvinism and local nationalism are harmful to the unity of the nationalities; they represent a specific contradiction among the people which should be overcome. We have already done some work in this sphere. In most areas inhabited by the minority nationalities,

there has been a big improvement in relations among the nationalities, but a number of problems remain to be solved. In some areas, both Han chauvinism and local nationalism still exist to a serious degree, and this demands full attention. As a result of the efforts of the people of all nationalities over the last few years, democratic reforms and socialist transformation have in the main been completed in most of the minority nationality areas. Democratic reforms have not yet been carried out in Tibet because conditions are not ripe for them. According to the seventeen-point agreement reached between the Central People's Government and the local government of Tibet, the reform of the social system must be carried out, but the timing can only be decided by the great majority of the people of Tibet and their leading public figures when they consider it practicable, and one should not be impatient. It has now been decided not to proceed with democratic reforms in Tibet during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. Whether they will be proceeded with in the period of the Third Five-Year Plan can only be decided in the light of the situation at that time.

VII. OVERALL PLANNING AND PROPER ARRANGEMENT

By overall planning we mean planning which takes into consideration the interests of the 600 million people of our country. In drawing up plans, handling affairs or thinking over problems, we must proceed from the fact that China has a population of 600 million people, and we must never forget this fact. Why do we make a point of this? Is it possible that there are people who are still unaware that we have a population of 600 million? Yes, everyone knows this, but when it comes to actual practice, some people forget all about it and act as though the fewer the people, the smaller the circle, the better. Those who have this "small circle" mentality resist the idea of bringing all positive factors into play, of uniting with everyone that can be united with, and of doing everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones so as to serve the great cause of building a socialist society. I hope these people will take a wider view and really recognize that we have a population of 600 million, that this is an objective fact, and that it is an asset. Our large population is a good thing, but of course it also involves certain difficulties. Construction is going ahead vigorously on all fronts and very successfully too, but in the present transitional period of tremendous social change there are still many difficult problems. Progress and at the same time

difficulties — this is a contradiction. However, not only should contradictions be resolved, but they definitely can be. Our guiding principle is overall planning and proper arrangement. Whatever the problem — whether it concerns food, natural calamities, employment, education, the intellectuals, the united front of all patriotic forces, the minority nationalities, or anything else — we must always proceed from the standpoint of overall planning which takes the whole people into consideration and must make proper arrangements, after consultation with all circles concerned, in the light of the specific possibilities of the particular time and place. On no account should we complain that there are too many people, that they are backward, that things are troublesome and hard to handle, and so shut the problems out. Does this mean that the government alone must take care of everyone and everything? Of course not. In many cases, they can be left to the care of the public organizations or of the masses directly — both are quite capable of devising many good ways of handling things. This also comes within the scope of the principle of overall planning and proper arrangement. We should give guidance to the public organizations and the masses of the people everywhere in this respect.

VIII. ON "LET A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOSSOM, LET A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND" AND "LONG-TERM COEXISTENCE AND MUTUAL SUPERVISION"

"Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" and "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" — how did these slogans come to be put forward? They were put forward in the light of China's specific conditions, on the basis of the recognition that various kinds of contradictions still exist in socialist society, and in response to the country's urgent need to speed up its economic and cultural development. Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is the policy for promoting the progress of the arts and the sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our land. Different forms and styles in art should develop freely and different schools in science should contend freely. We think that it is harmful to the growth of art and science if administrative measures are used to impose one particular style of art or school of thought and to ban another. Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should

not be settled in summary fashion. A period of trial is often needed to determine whether something is right or wrong. Throughout history, new and correct things have often failed at the outset to win recognition from the majority of people and have had to develop by twists and turns in struggle. Often correct and good things have first been regarded not as fragrant flowers but as poisonous weeds. Copernicus' theory of the solar system and Darwin's theory of evolution were once dismissed as erroneous and had to win through over bitter opposition. Chinese history offers many similar examples. In a socialist society, conditions for the growth of the new are radically different from and far superior to those in the old society. Nevertheless, it still often happens that new, rising forces are held back and rational proposals constricted. Moreover, the growth of new things may be hindered in the absence of deliberate suppression simply through lack of discernment. It is therefore necessary to be careful about questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences, to encourage free discussion and avoid hasty conclusions. We believe that such an attitude can help to ensure a relatively smooth development of the arts and sciences.

Marxism, too, has developed through struggle. At the beginning, Marxism was subjected to all kinds of attack and regarded as a poisonous weed. It is still being attacked and is still regarded as a poisonous weed in many parts of the world. In the socialist countries, it enjoys a different position. But non-Marxist and, moreover, anti-Marxist ideologies exist even in these countries. In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership, and although the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled. Marxists are still a minority among the entire population as well as among the intellectuals. Therefore, Marxism must still develop through struggle. Marxism can develop only through struggle, and not only is

this true of the past and the present, it is necessarily true of the future as well. What is correct invariably develops in the course of struggle with what is wrong. The true, the good and the beautiful always exist by contrast with the false, the evil and the ugly, and grow in struggle with the latter. As soon as a wrong thing is rejected and a particular truth accepted by mankind, new truths begin their struggle with new errors. Such struggles will never end. This is the law of development of truth and, naturally, of Marxism as well.

It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. The reason is that the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who come from the old society will remain in our country for a long time to come, and so will their class ideology. If this is not sufficiently understood, or is not understood at all, the gravest mistakes will be made and the necessity of waging the struggle in the ideological field will be ignored. Ideological struggle is not like other forms of struggle. The only method to be used in this struggle is that of painstaking reasoning and not crude coercion. Today, socialism is in an advantageous position in the ideological struggle. The main power of the state is in the hands of the working people led by the proletariat. The Communist Party is strong and its prestige stands high. Although there are defects and mistakes in our work, every fair-minded person can see that we are loyal to the people, that we are both determined and able to build up our motherland together with them, and that we have already achieved great successes and will achieve still greater ones. The vast majority of the bourgeoisie and intellectuals who come from the old society are patriotic and are willing to serve their flourishing socialist motherland; they know they will be helpless and have no bright future to look forward to if they turn away from the socialist cause and from the working people led by the Communist Party.

People may ask, since Marxism is accepted as the guiding ideology by the majority of the people in our country, can it be criticized? Certainly it can. Marxism is scientific truth and fears no criticism. If it did, and if it could be overthrown by criticism, it would be worthless. In fact, aren't the idealists criticizing Marxism every day and in every way? Aren't those who harbour bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and do not wish to change — aren't they also criticizing Marxism in every way? Marxists should not be afraid of criticism from any quarter. Quite the contrary, they need to temper and develop themselves and win new positions in the teeth of criticism and in the storm and stress

of struggle. Fighting against wrong ideas is like being vaccinated—a man develops greater immunity from disease as a result of vaccination. Plants raised in hot-houses are unlikely to be sturdy. Carrying out the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend will not weaken but strengthen the leading position of Marxism in the ideological field.

What should our policy be towards non-Marxist ideas? As far as unmistakable counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs of the socialist cause are concerned, the matter is easy: we simply deprive them of their freedom of speech. But incorrect ideas among the people are quite a different matter. Will it do to ban such ideas and deny them any opportunity for expression? Certainly not. It is not only futile but very harmful to use summary methods in dealing with ideological questions among the people, with questions concerned with man's mental world. You may ban the expression of wrong ideas, but the ideas will still be there. On the other hand, if correct ideas are pampered in hot-houses without being exposed to the elements or immunized from disease, they will not win out against erroneous ones. Therefore, it is only by employing the method of discussion, criticism and reasoning that we can really foster correct ideas and overcome wrong ones, and that we can really settle issues.

Inevitably, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. Inevitably, they will stubbornly express themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise. We should not use the method of suppression and prevent them from expressing themselves, but should allow them to do so and at the same time argue with them and direct appropriate criticism at them. We must undoubtedly criticize wrong ideas of every description. It certainly would not be right to refrain from criticism, look on while wrong ideas spread unchecked and allow them to monopolize the field. Mistakes must be criticized and poisonous weeds fought wherever they crop up. However, such criticism should not be dogmatic, and the metaphysical method should not be used, but efforts should be made to apply the dialectical method. What is needed is scientific analysis and convincing argument. Dogmatic criticism settles nothing. We are against poisonous weeds of any kind, but we must carefully distinguish between what is really a poisonous weed and what is really a fragrant flower. Together with the masses of the people, we must learn to differentiate carefully between the two and to use correct methods to fight the poisonous weeds.

At the same time as we criticize dogmatism, we must direct our attention to criticizing revisionism. Revisionism, or Right opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought that is even more dangerous than dogmatism. The revisionists, the Right opportunists, pay lip-service to Marxism; they too attack "dogmatism". But what they are really attacking is the quintessence of Marxism. They oppose or distort materialism and dialectics, oppose or try to weaken the people's democratic dictatorship and the leading role of the Communist Party, and oppose or try to weaken socialist transformation and socialist construction. After the basic victory of the socialist revolution in our country, there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one. And their right-hand men in this struggle are the revisionists.

At first glance, the two slogans—let a hundred flowers blossom and let a hundred schools of thought contend—have no class character; the proletariat can turn them to account, and so can the bourgeoisie or other people. But different classes, strata and social groups each have their own views on what are fragrant flowers and what are poisonous weeds. What then, from the point of view of the broad masses of the people, should be the criteria today for distinguishing fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds? In the political life of our people, how should right be distinguished from wrong in one's words and actions? On the basis of the principles of our Constitution, the will of the overwhelming majority of our people and the common political positions which have been proclaimed on various occasions by our political parties and groups, we consider that, broadly speaking, the criteria should be as follows:

- (1) Words and actions should help to unite, and not divide, the people of our various nationalities.
- (2) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction.
- (3) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship.
- (4) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism.
- (5) They should help to strengthen, and not discard or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party.
- (6) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world.

Of these six criteria, the most important are the socialist path and the leadership of the Party. These criteria are put forward not to hinder but to foster the free discussion of questions among the people. Those who disapprove of these criteria can still put forward their own views and argue their case. However, since the majority of the people have clearcut criteria to go by, criticism and self-criticism can be conducted along proper lines, and the criteria can be applied to people's words and actions to determine whether they are right or wrong, whether they are fragrant flowers or poisonous weeds. These are political criteria. Naturally, in judging the validity of scientific theories or assessing the aesthetic value of works of art, additional pertinent criteria are needed. But these six political criteria are applicable to all activities in the arts and the sciences. In a socialist country like ours, can there possibly be any useful scientific or artistic activity which runs counter to these political criteria?

The views set out above are based on China's specific historical conditions. Conditions vary in different socialist countries and with different Communist Parties. Therefore, we do not maintain that other countries and Parties should or must follow the Chinese way.

The slogan "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" is also a product of China's specific historical conditions. It was not put forward all of a sudden, but had been in the making for several years. The idea of long-term coexistence had been there for a long time. After the socialist system was basically established last year, the slogan was put forward in explicit terms. Why should the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democratic parties be allowed to exist side by side with the party of the working class over a long period of time? Because we have no reason for not adopting the policy of long-term coexistence with all those political parties which are truly devoted to the task of uniting the people for the cause of socialism and which enjoy the trust of the people. As early as June 1950, at the Second Session of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, I put the matter in this way:

The people and the People's Government have no reason to reject anyone or to deny him the opportunity of making a living and rendering service to the country, provided he is really willing to serve the people, and provided he really helped the people when times were difficult, did good before and keeps on doing good without giving up halfway.

What I was discussing here was the political basis for the long-term coexistence of the various parties.

It is the desire as well as the policy of the Communist Party to exist side by side with the various democratic parties for a long time to come. But whether these democratic parties can remain in existence for long depends not merely on the desire of the Communist Party but on how well they acquit themselves and on whether they enjoy the confidence of the people. Mutual supervision among the various parties is also a long-established fact, in the sense that they have long been advising and criticizing each other. Mutual supervision is obviously not a one-sided matter; it means that the Communist Party should exercise supervision over the democratic parties, and vice versa. Why should the democratic parties be allowed to exercise supervision over the Communist Party? Because a party as much as an individual has great need to hear opinions different from its own. We all know that supervision over the Communist Party is mainly exercised by the working people and the Party membership. But the existence of the democratic parties is also to our benefit. Of course, the advice and criticism exchanged by the Communist Party and the democratic parties will play a positive supervisory role only when they conform to the six political criteria given above. Thus, we hope that in order to fit in with the needs of the new society, all the democratic parties will pay attention to ideological remoulding and strive for long-term coexistence with the Communist Party and mutual supervision.

IX. ON THE QUESTION OF DISTURBANCES CREATED BY SMALL NUMBERS OF PEOPLE

In 1956, small numbers of workers or students in certain places went on strike. The immediate cause of these disturbances was the failure to satisfy certain of their demands for material benefits, of which some should and could have been met, while others were out of place or excessive and therefore could not be met for the time being. But a more important cause was bureaucracy on the part of the leadership. In some cases, the responsibility for such bureaucratic mistakes falls on the higher authorities, and those at lower levels are not entirely to blame. Another cause of these disturbances was lack of ideological and political education among the workers and students. In the same year, some members of agricultural co-operatives also created disturbances, and here too the main causes were bureaucracy on the part of the leadership and lack of educational work among the masses.

It should be admitted that some people are prone to pay attention to immediate, partial and

personal interests and do not understand, or do not sufficiently understand, long-range, national and collective interests. Because of their lack of political and social experience, quite a number of young people are unable to see the contrast between the old China and the new, and it is not easy for them thoroughly to comprehend the hardships our people went through in the struggle to free themselves from the oppression of the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries, or the long period of arduous work needed before a happy socialist society can be established. That is why we must constantly carry on lively and effective political education among the masses and should always tell them the truth about the difficulties that crop up and discuss with them how to surmount these difficulties.

We do not approve of disturbances, because contradictions among the people can be resolved in accordance with the formula of "unity, criticism, unity", while disturbances are bound to cause some losses and are not conducive to the advance of socialism. We believe that the masses of the people support socialism, consciously observe discipline and are reasonable, and will certainly not take part in disturbances without due cause. But this does not mean that there is no possibility of disturbances in our country. On this question, we should pay attention to the following:

(1) In order to root out the causes of disturbances, we must stamp out bureaucracy, greatly improve ideological and political education, and deal with all contradictions properly. If this is done, generally speaking there will be no more disturbances.

(2) If disturbances do occur as a result of bad work on our part, then we should guide those involved on to the correct path, make use of the disturbances as a special means for improving our work and educating the cadres and the masses, and work out solutions to those questions which were previously left unsolved. In handling any disturbance, we should work painstakingly and must not use over-simplified methods, or hastily declare the matter closed. The ringleaders in disturbances should not be summarily removed from their jobs or expelled, except for those who have committed criminal offences or are active counter-revolutionaries and have to be dealt with according to law. In a large country like ours, there is nothing to get alarmed about if small numbers of people create disturbances; on the contrary, such disturbances will help us get rid of bureaucracy.

There are also a small number of people in our society who, disregarding the public interest,

wilfully break the law and commit crimes. They are apt to take advantage of our policies and distort them, deliberately put forward unreasonable demands in order to incite the masses, or deliberately spread rumours to create trouble and disrupt public order. We do not propose to let these people have their way. On the contrary, proper legal action must be taken against them. The punishment of such people is the demand of the masses, and it would run counter to the popular will if they were not punished.

X. CAN BAD THINGS BE TURNED INTO GOOD THINGS?

In our society, as I have said, it is bad when some people create disturbances, and we do not approve of it. But when disturbances do occur, they enable us to learn lessons, to overcome bureaucracy and to educate the cadres and the masses. In this sense, bad things can be turned into good things. Disturbances thus have a dual character. Every disturbance can be regarded in this way.

Everybody knows that the Hungarian events were not a good thing. But they too had a dual character. Because our Hungarian comrades took proper action in the course of the events, what was a bad thing has eventually turned into a good one. The Hungarian state is now more firmly established than ever, and all other countries in the socialist camp have also learned a lesson.

Similarly, the world-wide campaign against communism and the people launched in the latter half of 1956 was of course a bad thing. But it educated and tempered the Communist Parties and the working class in all countries, and thus it has turned into a good thing. In the storm and stress of this period, a number of people withdrew from the Communist Party in many countries. Withdrawal from the Party reduces its membership and is, of course, a bad thing. But there is a good side to it, too. Vacillating elements who are unwilling to carry on have withdrawn, but the great majority of staunch Party members are more firmly united for the struggle. Why isn't this a good thing?

To sum up, we must learn to look at problems all-sidedly, seeing the reverse as well as the obverse side of things. In given conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing to bad results. More than two thousand years ago Lao Tzu said: "Good fortune lieth within bad, bad fortune lurketh within good." When the Japanese strode into China, they called this a victory. Huge parts of China's territory were seized, and the Chinese called this a defeat. But China's defeat con-

tained the seeds of victory, while Japan's victory contained the seeds of defeat. Has not history proved this true?

People all over the world are now discussing whether or not a third world war will break out. On this question, too, we must be mentally prepared and do some analysis. We stand firmly for peace and against war. But if the imperialists insist on unleashing another war, we should not be afraid of it. Our attitude on this question is the same as our attitude towards any disturbance: first, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it. The First World War was followed by the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200 million. The Second World War was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million. If the imperialists insist on launching a third world war, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism, and then there will not be much room left on earth for the imperialists; it is also likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse.

In given conditions, each of the two opposing aspects of a contradiction invariably transforms itself into its opposite as a result of the struggle between them. Here, the conditions are essential. Without the given conditions, neither of the two contradictory aspects can transform itself into its opposite. Of all the classes in the world the proletariat is the one which is most eager to change its position, and next comes the semi-proletariat, for the former possesses nothing at all while the latter is hardly better off. The present situation in which the United States controls a majority in the United Nations and dominates many parts of the world is a temporary one, which will eventually be changed. China's position as a poor country denied her rights in international affairs will also be changed — the poor country will change into a rich one, the country denied its rights into one enjoying its rights — a transformation of things into their opposites. Here, the decisive conditions are the socialist system and the concerted efforts of a united people.

XI. ON PRACTISING ECONOMY

Here I wish to speak briefly on practising economy. We want to carry on large-scale construction, but our country is still very poor — herein lies a contradiction. One way of resolving it is to make a sustained effort to practise strict economy in every field.

During the *san fan* (or three anti's) movement in 1952, we fought against corruption, waste and bureaucracy, with the emphasis on combating corruption. In 1955 we advocated the practice of econ-

omy with great success, our emphasis then being on combating the unduly high standards for non-productive projects in capital construction, and on economy in the use of raw materials in industrial production. But at that time economy was not yet applied in earnest as a guiding principle in all branches of the national economy, or in government offices, army units, schools and people's organizations in general. This year we are calling for economy and the elimination of waste in every sphere throughout the country. We still lack experience in the work of construction. During the last few years, great successes have been achieved, but there has also been waste. We must build up a number of large-scale modern enterprises step by step to form the mainstay of our industry, without which we shall not be able to turn our country into a strong modern industrial power within the coming decades. But the majority of our enterprises should not be built on such a scale: we should set up more small and medium enterprises and make full use of the industrial base left over from the old society, so as to effect the greatest economy and do more with less money. Good results have begun to appear in the few months since the principle of practising strict economy and combating waste was put forward, in more emphatic terms than before, by the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in November 1956. The present economy campaign must be conducted in a thorough and sustained way. Like the criticism of any other faults or mistakes, the fight against waste may be compared to washing one's face. Don't people wash their faces every day? The Chinese Communist Party, the democratic parties, the democrats with no party affiliation, the intellectuals, industrialists and merchants, workers, peasants and handcraftsmen — in short, all the 600 million people of our country — must strive for increased production and economy, and against extravagance and waste. This is of prime importance not only economically, but politically as well. A dangerous tendency has shown itself of late among many of our personnel — an unwillingness to share the joys and hardships of the masses, a concern for personal fame and gain. This is very bad. One way of overcoming it is to simplify our organizations in the course of our campaign to increase production and practise economy, and to transfer cadres to lower levels so that a considerable number will return to productive work. We must see to it that all our cadres and all our people constantly bear in mind that ours is a big socialist country but an economically backward and poor one, and that this is a very great contradiction. To make China rich and strong needs several decades of intense effort, which will include, among other things, the effort

to practise strict economy and combat waste, i.e., the policy of building up our country through diligence and frugality.

XII. CHINA'S PATH TO INDUSTRIALIZATION

In discussing our path to industrialization, I am here concerned principally with the relationship between the growth of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. It must be affirmed that heavy industry is the core of China's economic construction. At the same time, full attention must be paid to the development of agriculture and light industry.

As China is a large agricultural country, with over 80 per cent of her population in the rural areas, industry must develop together with agriculture, for only thus can industry secure raw materials and a market, and only thus is it possible to accumulate fairly large funds for building a powerful heavy industry. Everyone knows that light industry is closely related to agriculture. Without agriculture there can be no light industry. But it is not yet so clearly understood that agriculture provides heavy industry with an important market. This fact, however, will be more readily appreciated as gradual progress in the technical improvement and modernization of agriculture calls for more and more machinery, fertilizer, water conservancy and electric power projects and transport facilities for the farms, as well as fuel and building materials for the rural consumers. During the period of the Second and Third Five-Year Plans, the entire national economy will benefit if we can achieve an even greater growth in our agriculture and thus induce a correspondingly greater development of light industry. As agriculture and light industry develop, heavy industry, assured of its market and funds, will grow faster. Hence what may seem to be a slower pace of industrialization will actually not be so slow, and indeed may even be faster. In three five-year plans or perhaps a little longer, China's annual steel output can be raised to 20,000,000 tons or more, as compared with the peak pre-liberation output of something over 900,000 tons in 1943. This will gladden the people both in the town and in the countryside.

I do not propose to dwell on economic questions today. With barely seven years of economic construction behind us, we still lack experience and need to accumulate it. We had no experience of revolution either when we first started, and it was only after we had taken a number of tumbles and acquired experience that we won nation-wide victory. What we must demand of ourselves now is

to cut down the time needed for gaining experience of economic construction to a shorter period than it took us to gain experience of revolution, and not to pay as high a price for it. Some price we will have to pay, but we hope it will not be as high as that paid during the period of revolution. We must realize that there is a contradiction here—the contradiction between the objective laws of economic development of a socialist society and our subjective understanding of them—which needs to be resolved in the course of practice. This contradiction also manifests itself as a contradiction between different people, that is, a contradiction between those with a relatively accurate understanding of these objective laws and those with a relatively inaccurate understanding of them; this, too, is a contradiction among the people. Every contradiction is an objective reality, and it is our task to understand it and resolve it as correctly as we can.

In order to turn our country into an industrial power, we must learn conscientiously from the advanced experience of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has been building socialism for forty years, and its experience is very valuable to us. Let us ask: Who designed and equipped so many important factories for us? Was it the United States? Or Britain? No, neither of them. Only the Soviet Union was willing to do so, because it is a socialist country and our ally. In addition to the Soviet Union, some East European fraternal countries have also given us some assistance. It is perfectly true that we should learn from the good experience of all countries, socialist or capitalist, and there is no argument about this point. But the main thing is still to learn from the Soviet Union. Now, there are two different attitudes towards learning from others. One is the dogmatic attitude of transplanting everything, whether or not it is suited to our conditions. This is no good. The other attitude is to use our heads and learn those things which suit our conditions, that is, to absorb whatever experience is useful to us. That is the attitude we should adopt.

To strengthen our solidarity with the Soviet Union, to strengthen our solidarity with all the socialist countries—this is our fundamental policy, this is where our basic interest lies. Then there are the Asian and African countries and all the peace-loving countries and peoples—we must strengthen and develop our solidarity with them. United with these two forces, we shall not stand alone. As for the imperialist countries, we should unite with their peoples and strive to coexist peacefully with those countries, do business with them and prevent any possible war, but under no circumstances should we harbour any unrealistic notions about them.

A Theoretical Weapon for Making Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

— In Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the Publication of Chairman Mao's
On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

"HONGQI" EDITORIAL, No. 10, 1967

CHAIRMAN MAO'S *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* published ten years ago is a brilliant, epoch-making document in the history of the development of Marxism.

In this brilliant document, Chairman Mao developed creatively and with genius Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics and the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a great programme for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and an important landmark signifying that Marxism has developed to the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It sums up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat both in China and abroad in an all-round way, and uses the proletarian dialectical materialist world outlook in observing and solving various problems in socialist society. For the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, it provides a scientific, systematic and profound analysis of contradictions, classes and class struggle in a socialist society, and an exposition of the laws of class struggle in a socialist society, and puts forward the theory, principles and policy for distinguishing the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand and those among the people on the other and for correctly handling both kinds of contradictions.

The current great proletarian cultural revolution in China is forging ahead triumphantly and with mighty force. At the present time, the study of this great work of Chairman Mao's, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, in connection with the May 16, 1966 "Circular" and the August 8, 1966 "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, both drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, and also in connection with the study of the theory and line, principles and policy concerning the

great proletarian cultural revolution advanced by him, has an extremely important bearing on realizing great alliances of proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations, on developing all-out criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and on fulfilling the tasks of "struggle-criticism-transformation."

In a socialist society, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production is completed in the main, the key question that decides the destiny of socialism is whether or not one actually recognizes the continued existence of classes and class struggle; whether or not one recognizes this class struggle as a struggle, in the final analysis, for political power, one between the proletariat which wants to consolidate its dictatorship and the bourgeoisie which wants to overthrow this dictatorship.

The biggest betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the Khrushchov revisionist clique is that it concocted the "theory" of the "state of the whole people" and the "Party of the entire people." According to this "theory," in a socialist society contradictions vanish, classes and class struggle disappear and the aim is to build "goulash communism." As chief representatives of the new and old bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, they use this "theory" to deceive the people, attack the proletariat, turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into that of the bourgeoisie, turn the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a bourgeois political party and restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The top person in authority taking the capitalist road in the Chinese Party sings the same tune as the Khrushchovs of the Soviet Union. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was completed in the main in China, he took a stand diametrically opposed to Comrade Mao Tse-

tung's when he advertised the theory of the dying out of class struggle. He claimed: "The domestic enemy has been eliminated in the main"; "domestically, the major class struggle has basically come to an end, or can be said to have been settled in the main, in other words, the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves by and large have been resolved"; "from now on, there will be no more revolutionary struggles and no more socialist transformation"; "the question of which will win, socialism or capitalism, has now been settled"; and "the most important task of the state is to organize the life of society." This sinister line runs through all his political activities. The aim which he vainly tried to attain was, like that of the Khrushchovs of the Soviet Union, to turn China's dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, turn the Chinese Communist Party into a bourgeois political party and restore capitalism in China.

It was precisely in the course of struggle against international and domestic revisionism that Chairman Mao developed his theory of contradictions, classes and class struggle in a socialist society and of making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had just been completed in the main in China, Chairman Mao pointed out in his great work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*: "The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." "It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country."

Chairman Mao also pointed out: "After the basic victory of the socialist revolution in our country, there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one."

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the chief representatives of those who dream of restoring the capitalist system. During the period when our country was hit by three years of natural disasters, in co-ordination with the anti-China chorus of U.S. imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism, they laid their plans and started activities from above to below for an over-all counter-revolutionary restoration. There appeared one after another such

theories as "san zi yi bao,"¹ "san he yi shao"² and "combining two into one" and such anti-Party, anti-socialist works as *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. Ghosts and monsters came out and stirred up the evil winds of "going it alone," of reversing the correct decisions already made, of capitulation and of liberalization.

The two great historic speeches made by Chairman Mao, one at the Working Conference of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Peitaiho in August 1962 and the other at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year, were the outcome of the struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. These two speeches rectified the Right opportunist line and held in check this evil wind for a counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration. In these two speeches, Chairman Mao elaborated on the Marxist-Leninist thesis contained in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. He clearly pointed out: "Socialist society is a fairly long historical stage. During this historical stage, classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue to exist, the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism goes on and the danger of a capitalist restoration remains. It is necessary to recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. It is necessary to heighten our vigilance. It is necessary to undertake socialist education. It is necessary to have a correct understanding of the problems of class contradictions and class struggle and to handle them correctly, to distinguish between the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand and those among the people on the other and to handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite, it will degenerate, and there will be a come-back. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can have a fairly sober understanding of this question and maintain a Marxist-Leninist line."

The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Some Problems in Current Rural Work (Draft)," that is, the first "Ten Points," mapped out under the personal direction of Chairman Mao in May 1963, issued the great call for the launching of a socialist education movement. In this extremely important document, Chairman Mao told the whole

¹ "San zi yi bao" is the Chinese abbreviation for "the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, the fixing of output quotas based on the household" — Ed.

² "San he yi shao" is the Chinese abbreviation for "the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples." — Ed.

Party and the entire Chinese people that if the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society were forgotten, "then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour. Comrades, just think of it — what a dangerous prospect!"

The brilliant Marxist-Leninist document, "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," or the "Twenty-five-Point Proposal," was published on June 14, 1963. This is a great programme for the international communist movement in our era and it is illuminated throughout by the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This document, which was drawn up under the personal direction of Chairman Mao, pointed out:

"For a very long historical period after the proletariat takes power, class struggle continues as an objective law independent of man's will, differing only in form from what it was before the taking of power.

"After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out a number of times that:

"a) The overthrown exploiters always try in a thousand and one ways to recover the 'paradise' they have been deprived of.

"b) New elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty-bourgeois atmosphere.

"c) Political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class and among government functionaries as a result of bourgeois influence and the pervasive, corrupting atmosphere of the petty bourgeoisie.

"d) The external conditions for the continuance of class struggle within a socialist country are encirclement by international capitalism, the imperialists' threat of armed intervention and their subversive activities to accomplish peaceful disintegration.

"Life has confirmed these conclusions of Lenin's.

"For decades or even longer periods after socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, it will be impossible to say that any socialist country will be free from those elements which Lenin repeatedly denounced, such as bourgeois hangers-on, parasites, speculators, swindlers, idlers, hooligans and embezzlers of state funds; or to say that a socialist country will no longer need to perform or be able to relinquish the task laid down by Lenin of conquering 'this contagion, this

plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism.'

"In a socialist country, it takes a very long historical period gradually to settle the question of who will win — socialism or capitalism. The struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism runs through this whole historical period. This struggle rises and falls in a wave-like manner, at times becoming very fierce, and the forms of the struggle are many and varied.

"The 1957 Declaration rightly states that 'the conquest of power by the working class is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion.'

"To deny the existence of class struggle in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of thoroughly completing the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts is wrong, does not correspond to objective reality and violates Marxism-Leninism."

In July 1964, our great leader Chairman Mao again taught us that "in the realm of politics and ideology, a very long period of time is needed to decide 'who will win' in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Several decades won't do it; success requires anywhere from one to several centuries. On the question of duration, it is better to prepare for a longer rather than a shorter period of time. On the question of effort, it is better to regard the task as difficult rather than easy. It will be more advantageous and less harmful to think and act in this way."

It is precisely under the guidance of the great theory advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the socialist education movement was carried out on an extensive scale in China's vast countryside and in the cities. This movement made splendid achievements and solved a number of problems in practice, providing valuable experience for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road used the bourgeois reactionary line of "Left in form, Right in essence" to oppose Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line. He negated the essence of the socialist education movement which was a class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and distorted it by characterizing it as a contradiction between "being 'clean' politically, ideologically, organizationally and economically, and being 'unclean' in these respects." He thus shifted the target of struggle and hit hard at many in order to protect a handful, to protect the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, to protect the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and to preserve the social basis for the restoration of capitalism.

He hawked his revisionist wares everywhere in the country, openly attacked Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his Marxist-Leninist mass line and method of investigation and study.

"Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas," that is, the "23-article document" drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao in January 1965, is an extremely important Marxist-Leninist document. This great document smashed the bourgeois reactionary line advanced by China's Khrushchov which is "Left" in form, Right in essence" and it made a scientific summary of the experience of the socialist education movement, further enriching and developing the theory for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the "23-article document," Chairman Mao put forward for the first time this very important theory: "The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." "Of those in authority taking the capitalist road, some act on the stage while the others operate from behind the scenes." Supporting these persons in authority "there are certain people at the higher levels — at the commune, district, county, prefecture and even at the provincial level and in the central departments — who are opposed to building socialism."

On the basis of the socialist education movement and in continuing the tit-for-tat struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, our great teacher Chairman Mao has personally initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution which has no parallel in history. He has systematically solved in theory and practice problems concerning making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus scaling new heights in the history of the development of Marxism.

On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People laid the theoretical foundation for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of summarizing the experience of class struggle in the past ten years, especially the great practice of the world-shaking, great proletarian cultural revolution in the past year, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has provided the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with an all-conquering theoretical weapon, a Marxist-Leninist, proletarian revolutionary line, a whole series of correct principles and policies, and the correct method for carrying out this great revolution.

In the great historic document, the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary

revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie," and "there are a number of these [representatives of the bourgeoisie] in the Central Committee and in the Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region level."

That means there is a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie, a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the masses in their hundreds of millions must be mobilized to make revolution against them. Without such a revolution, it is impossible to overthrow them, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to effectively prevent a restoration of capitalism. Without such a revolution, there may be a repetition of the usurpation of the leadership of the Party and the state as carried out by the Khrushchov revisionist clique in the Soviet Union.

Ours is a great country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our Party is great, glorious and correct. Over the past 17 years, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has occupied the dominant position in our Party. It is the dictatorship of the proletariat, not that of the bourgeoisie, that has dominated our country. And this is true as well for recent years. This must be affirmed absolutely. The Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are only a handful. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been turned into that of the bourgeoisie only in certain sectors, definitely not as a whole. Our great proletarian cultural revolution is meant to improve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in those sectors. It is wrong for some people to raise the slogan "completely renovate the dictatorship of the proletariat." Certain persons who have ulterior motives intend to negate everything of the past and overthrow everything of the past; what they are aiming at is causing the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and instituting that of the bourgeoisie.

The revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a revolution under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the criterion for judging which is right and which is wrong about all our words and actions. Chairman Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* is precisely the sharp theoretical weapon for the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the steering wheel for us to sail the ocean of the great revolution.

In his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Chairman Mao lists six political criteria for judging words and actions in the political life of our country. He says:

"Broadly speaking, the criteria should be as follows:

(1) Words and actions should help to unite, and not divide, the people of our various nationalities.

(2) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction.

(3) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship.

(4) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism.

(5) They should help to strengthen, and not discard or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party.

(6) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world."

These six criteria play an important guiding role in the great proletarian cultural revolution; they are also criteria to judge whether one's words and actions are revolutionary in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Of these six criteria, the most important are the socialist path and the leadership of the Party." These two criteria are also the most important ones for the great revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must resolutely uphold the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and overthrow the bourgeois headquarters within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat; we must resolutely take the socialist road and overthrow the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Overthrowing the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road means precisely strengthening, and not weakening, the Party leadership. These fellows usurped the name of the Party leadership to defend their own bourgeois rule. This is absolutely impermissible. Only by overthrowing them can we genuinely consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In order to make successful revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a strict distinction must be drawn between the two different types of contradictions and they must be handled correctly. Chairman Mao points out: "We are confronted by two types of social contradictions — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. The two are totally different in their nature." "Since they are different in nature, the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people must be resolved by different methods. To put it briefly, the former are a matter of drawing a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy, and the latter a matter of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong."

Chairman Mao's theory about the two types of contradictions provides the theoretical basis for the strategic and tactical thinking of the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie. Only by drawing a correct distinction between the two different types of contradictions and handling them correctly is it possible gradually to unite more than 95 per cent of the masses and more than 95 per cent of the cadres, and to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and to strike at them. Only in this way is it possible to avoid Right or "Left" mistakes.

The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic. They are life-and-death struggles. The overthrown landlord class and bourgeoisie refuse to take their destruction lying down, but always attempt a come-back. They place their hopes for a come-back on the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into our Party and the organs of political power. The contradiction between the proletariat and this handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road is the principal contradiction to be resolved in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This revolution aims precisely to concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, to regain for the proletariat the power they have usurped, and to criticize, repudiate and discredit them in a thoroughgoing way politically, ideologically and theoretically. This is the general orientation of the struggle.

The contradictions among the people, generally speaking, are non-antagonistic. The people's basic identity of interests underlies these contradictions. Many of the large numbers of complicated contradictions arising among the people in the great proletarian cultural revolution are, in essence, contradictions between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook, between proletarian ideology and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. In this revolution, certain cadres and certain leading members of mass organizations display individualism, the "small group" mentality and anarchism on a number of questions — these are all manifestations of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thinking.

These erroneous ideas impede the grasping of the general orientation of struggle, the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, the struggle to seize power through the revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations, and the directing of the spearhead of struggle at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao has criticized people with these ideas who "act as though the fewer the people, the smaller the circle, the better. Those who have this 'small circle' mentality resist the idea of bringing all positive factors into play, of uniting with everyone

that can be united with, and of doing everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones."

Chairman Mao teaches: "Inevitably, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. Inevitably, they will stubbornly express themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means."

The status of certain cadres and of leaders of certain mass organizations has changed; from being suppressed they are now in positions of authority. Many of these people continue to work hard and seriously, act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and earnestly remould their own ideology. But, some people ignore the question of the seizure of power from the "self-interest" in their own minds and the need for the constant use of proletarian ideology to overcome their own bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. This is very dangerous, because by preserving and even developing bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology they will find it absolutely impossible to implement the proletarian revolutionary line correctly, will inevitably try to transform the world in accordance with their own outlook, and will possibly themselves implement the bourgeois reactionary line.

No matter how complicated, contradictions among the people must be resolved through ideological struggle. This can only be carried out in accordance with the formula "unity, criticism, unity." It is essential, first of all, to start from the desire for unity. In order to overthrow our common enemy, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, we must unite and forge an alliance on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Only by starting from the desire for unity against the enemy can we make criticism based on facts and aimed at helping those criticized, and make serious self-criticism. Only thus can we achieve clarity in ideology, distinguish right from wrong and arrive at a new unity.

Those of the masses who once were members of conservative organizations should firmly draw a line of distinction between themselves and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The proletarian revolutionaries ought to carry on meticulous political and ideological work among the masses who were misled into joining the conservative organizations. As for those who were once in conservative organizations and who have corrected or are correcting their mistakes, the proletarian revolutionaries should welcome them, help them and unite with them in accordance with the principle "early or late, all who make revolution merit the same treatment," and together with them carry out successfully the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation.

Chairman Mao teaches: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." In handling contradictions among the people, it is necessary to persuade through reasoning; the use of force or repression is absolutely impermissible. The methods for handling contradictions between ourselves and the enemy absolutely cannot be allowed in this situation. When contradictions occur between revolutionary mass organizations, both sides should first make serious and sincere self-criticism, seek common ground on major issues while reserving their differences on minor points, grasp the general orientation of struggle and unite on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They should not revel in "civil war"; they should not attack or revile one another or use physical violence and cause disorder in solving contradictions among the people. If they act in this way the contradictions inevitably will be intensified and this will give the enemy an opportunity of which he can take advantage, thus saddening friends and gladdening enemies. They should realize that the class enemy takes advantage of the contradictions among the people to sow dissension and to stir up trouble in an attempt to carry out his plots. All revolutionaries must take full note of this and not play into his hands.

The fundamental method for resolving the various contradictions among the people is to make a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, to undertake a rectification campaign to check up on the ranks ideologically and organizationally as well as on their style of work. It is essential to make self-criticism, to eliminate self-interest vigorously and promote utter devotion to the public interest, to remould one's ideology with the proletarian world outlook, to place Mao Tse-tung's thought in command of all and to remould all by means of it.

At present, the development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is uneven. Therefore, proletarian revolutionaries in various areas and units must study this great work of Chairman Mao, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, with emphasis on points as required by the local situation of struggle and by the major questions existing there; they must sum up work, guide future actions in this light, resolutely bring about and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination; they must thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, carry out successfully the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation in their own units and win new victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Distinguishing Correctly Between Two Types of Social Contradictions

IN his epoch-making work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* published ten years ago, Chairman Mao has creatively and with genius developed Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics and the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The importance of this brilliant work's contribution to the international communist cause lies in the fact that it has for the first time analysed the contradictions in a socialist society in a most profound, comprehensive and correct way, and put forth a great thesis on correctly distinguishing between and handling two qualitatively different types of contradictions, thus laying the theoretical foundation for the necessity to make revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Over the past decade, Chairman Mao has made further significant contributions to the development of the theories on contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society in a series of great works and directives and in the May 16, 1966 "Circular" and the August 8, 1966 "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which were formulated under his personal guidance. All this further indicates that Marxism-Leninism has developed to a completely new stage, that of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

After analysing the complex contradictions in society during the socialist period, Chairman Mao points out: "We are confronted by two types of social contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. The two are totally different in their nature."

Throughout the historical stage of socialism, there is the danger of a restoration of capitalism. The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the most dangerous people trying to bring about such a restoration. The contradiction between the proletariat and other sections of the working people on the one hand and the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road on the other is the principal contradiction and an antagonistic one. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, efforts are focused precisely on solving this principal contradiction.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, bad people are extremely few, just a handful. This handful must be exposed, overthrown and subjected to dictatorship.

At the present time, some comrades are talking about grasping the principal contradiction and holding to the general orientation of the struggle, but they are actually directing the spearhead of their struggle against their own comrades-in-arms or the masses. They have forgotten who their real enemies are, reversed the relation between the enemy and ourselves, putting one into the position of the other, and confused the principal contradiction with secondary ones. This is a bad mistake.

In order to concentrate our forces to attack the principal enemy, it is necessary to correctly handle the contradictions among the people, unite with all forces that can be united and bring about a most extensive revolutionary alliance with the Left as its core.

The contradictions among the people at present include all those among the revolutionary masses, between the proletarian revolutionaries and the ordinary members of conservative organizations who are misled, and between the revolutionary masses and those cadres who have committed errors. These are fundamentally different in nature from the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. They are secondary contradictions, non-antagonistic contradictions, contradictions based on the identity of fundamental interests.

When we employ Chairman Mao's method of class analysis to study contradictions among the people, we find they are mostly contradictions in the ideological sphere. To be sure, contradictions in the ideological sphere also exist between ourselves and the enemy, but they are entirely different from those existing among the people.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines is inevitably reflected within the ranks of the people. All sorts of petty-bourgeois trends of thought: anarchism, individualism, subjectivism, "small group" mentality, "mountain-stronghold" mentality and so forth deserve particular attention. These are diamet-

trically opposed to the proletarian world outlook. These petty-bourgeois trends of thought often hamper the implementation of the proletarian revolutionary line, divert the general orientation of the struggle and bring harm to the revolutionary great alliance.

We must be vigilant, because a new capitalism and a new bourgeoisie may constantly grow out of the petty-bourgeoisie. Petty-bourgeois vacillation is very serious. The overthrown landlord class and bourgeoisie invariably use this vacillation to facilitate their activity aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration.

Every revolutionary comrade must be on guard against mistaking petty-bourgeois thinking and actions for the proletarian revolutionary spirit.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression."

We must correctly employ the formula "unity, criticism, unity" to solve contradictions among the people, bring about the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, carry out mass criticism and struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and successfully fulfil the tasks of "struggle-criticism-transformation" in each unit.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 18.)

Model for Great Alliance of Proletarian Revolutionaries

—Literary and Art Units at National Level Unite in Criticism, Repudiation and Struggle Against the Handful of Top Party Persons in Authority Taking the Capitalist Road

PROLETARIAN revolutionaries, unite for revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and mass struggle! — This is the current fighting slogan and programme for China's great proletarian cultural revolution. Hundreds of revolutionary mass organizations from literary and art units at the national level, in response to the militant call of our great leader Chairman Mao and with the warmhearted help and direct guidance of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, have united under the great banner of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the process of the mass campaign for revolutionary criticism and repudiation.

Many revolutionary mass organizations were formed in the literary and art units at the national level in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They made big contributions in the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. And yet, at the same time, because of differences in views and the influence of anarchism, departmentalism, the "small group" mentality and individualism, a good many contradictions and disputes existed among the different revolutionary mass organizations. Such a situation caused the forces of the cultural revolution army in the literary and art world to

be dispersed and out of step, thus seriously hampering the proletarian revolutionaries in forming great alliances to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, which is the general orientation of the struggle. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and with the close concern and direct guidance of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, the masses of literary and art workers, having studied and applied Chairman Mao's works creatively, earnestly summed up experience and lessons gained in the previous stage of the movement. They decided that it was time to change this state of affairs. They said: "No matter how great the contradictions among us revolutionary mass organizations, they can't be any greater than those between us and the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. There may be many different principles in things, but all minor principles should be subordinate to the major ones. You may think this is important or that is important, but you must bear in mind that what is most important is to firmly grasp the general orientation of the struggle!" "The enemy is before us, we must clearly distinguish between the enemy and ourselves, unite all revolutionary mass organizations and all revolutionary literary and art workers, and direct

the spearhead of our struggle sharply and accurately against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road!"

In order to make the first criticism, repudiation and struggle meeting after forming the great alliance a success, many literary and art units have set up "Joint Action Commands" or "Preparatory Groups" to take charge of preparations. Members of revolutionary mass organizations formerly opposed to each other have sat down together amicably to work out plans of struggle and outlines for speeches. In many units, the different revolutionary mass organizations jointly held mobilization meetings or gave joint performances in the streets. They were determined in the course of the great alliance and the mass criticism and repudiation campaign, to direct their spearhead of struggle clearly and unswervingly against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and to further promote the revolutionary great alliance through the mass criticism and repudiation campaign.

Thus the joint meeting to criticize, repudiate and struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road was held on June 10—the first militant demonstration by the revolutionary mass organizations of the literary and art units at the national level after forming their great alliance. Fourteen thousand people took part.

Comrade Chen Po-ta, Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and head of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee, attended the meeting. He extended warm congratulations to it on behalf of the Cultural Revolution Group and Comrade Chiang Ching. He said: "The revolution in literary and art circles sparked the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country. Your rally today is a model of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries. You should continue to be a model in forming the great alliance and a model in the mass criticism and repudiation campaign." Comrade Chen Po-ta wished the revolutionary literary and art workers success in their great alliance, in the mass criticism and repudiation campaign, and in all their work. He also called on them to "ceaselessly arm your minds with Mao Tse-tung's thought" and to learn to "educate yourselves, emancipate yourselves and see to things yourselves."

This great alliance of the literary and art units at the national level marks the fact that the mass criticism, repudiation and struggle against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road by the proletarian revolutionaries in Peking's literary and art circles have been raised to a completely new level and have developed to a completely new stage. The fact that the capital's literary and art workers have united at this decisive moment in the great proletarian cultural revolution, seized the major contradiction and held firmly to the general orientation of the struggle is

a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Comrade Chin Ching-mai, member of the literary and art sub-group of the Cultural Revolution Group, also spoke at the meeting. He pointed out the vital significance of this great alliance. He declared: We proletarian revolutionaries seize power for the proletariat. We have a common goal, so there is every reason for us to unite; it is imperative that we unite; and there is every possibility for us to unite. We must unswervingly carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, concentrate our forces to launch a powerful and all-round general offensive against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, promote, consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination in the mass criticism, repudiation and struggle campaign, and push forward the struggle-criticism-transformation campaign on every front and in every unit of the literary and art world. This is our main present fighting task, and it is also the general orientation of the struggle. Proletarian revolutionaries must keep firmly to this general orientation.

Chin Ching-mai continued: We must always remember Chairman Mao's teaching that "in order to attack the forces of the counter-revolution, what the revolutionary forces need today is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action." Our struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road must be a "people's war" on a tremendous scale. Only by mobilizing the broadest number of revolutionary masses can this "people's war" be waged and can the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road be completely overthrown and totally discredited. Chin Ching-mai concluded: The difficult task of struggle-criticism-transformation in different fields and different units remains for us to accomplish; difficulties have yet to be overcome by us one by one. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, keep firmly to the general orientation of the struggle, further unite in the process of the mass criticism, repudiation and struggle campaign, achieve the struggle-criticism-transformation in our own units, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

A representative of the four major revolutionary mass organizations in the capital's literary and art world spoke at the meeting on behalf of these organizations. He warmly hailed this great alliance. He expressed the organizations' firm determination to follow Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, unite even more closely, go all-out in common efforts against the enemy, completely overthrow and totally discredit the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and thoroughly accomplish the great historic task of struggle-criticism-transformation!

Congratulations on China's First H-Bomb Explosion

Greetings From Vietnamese Leaders

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and the Chinese Government have received a joint message of greetings dated June 18 from Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the D.R.V. National Assembly; and Pham Van Dong, the D.R.V. Premier, extending the warmest congratulations on the successful explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb.

The message reads in full:

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Vietnam Workers' Party, the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and in our own names, we extend to you our warmest congratulations on the successful explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb.

This great achievement marks a new stage of development in China's mastery of nuclear weapons.

China already has atom bombs. Now she has the hydrogen bomb. This has not only strengthened even further the national defence force of the People's Republic of China, but has made a tremendous contribution to the struggle waged by the people of the world against imperialism headed by the U.S. and for the defence of peace.

The Vietnamese people are elated and inspired by this brilliant achievement of the fraternal Chinese people, and regard it as a powerful inspiration in their own struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and in the struggle waged by the working class and the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Please convey our hearty congratulations to the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, to the worker brothers and sisters and to the scientific and technical workers of China.

We wish you good health!

Greetings From Comrades Hoxha and Shehu

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Party's Central Committee, and Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, on June 19 received a joint message of greetings, dated June 18, from Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, and Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania, congratulating on the successful explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb.

The full text follows:

The Albanian people are extremely happy and inspired to learn that the People's Republic of China successfully exploded its first hydrogen bomb on June 17, 1967, thus advancing the development of its nuclear weapons to a new and most important stage. This remarkable achievement, scored in a short period by the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the outstanding Chinese workers, engineers, technicians, and scientists, is another brilliant victory for the glorious Communist Party of China and the Marxist-Leninist thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in strengthening the national defence of the People's Republic of China and raising its international prestige.

Dear comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of

the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people, and in our own names, we are very happy to extend to you, and through you to the great Chinese people, the warmest and sincerest greetings on this magnificent achievement in the field of nuclear science and technology.

The People's Republic of China, since its founding, has achieved brilliant successes in the socialist construction of the country and in continuously strengthening its national defence, has carried out five nuclear weapon tests in less than three years, developed the atomic bomb and guided missiles and now has its own hydrogen bomb.

The Albanian people, the loyal and inseparable friends and comrades-in-arms of the fraternal Chinese people, look on the explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb as their own achievement and as a great victory for all progressive and freedom-loving mankind. China's hydrogen bomb is a powerful weapon in the hands of the people the world over in opposing the policies of aggression and war of U.S.-led imperialism; it inspires the people of all countries in their struggle for national freedom and independence and against the pressure, intimidation, policy of diktat and nuclear monopoly of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists; it gives the people strength and courage. The hydrogen weapon in the hands of the Chinese people is a historic victory for the revolutionary people all over the world.

At this crucial juncture, when the sworn enemies of mankind—the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices, the Soviet revisionists—are hatching new plots against the heroic Vietnamese people, the freedom-loving Arab people and the rest of the world's people, glorious China has triumphantly exploded its first hydrogen bomb, dealing a most powerful and fatal blow at those enemies of peace, freedom and independence of the people of all countries. Let the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and their accomplices go out of their wits and tremble, in the face of this splendid victory. Their doom is sealed; the people of all countries will surely triumph.

The victory of the fraternal Chinese people in their socialist construction and in the strengthening of their motherland's national defence, and the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is now

advancing triumphantly in China, result from the correct leadership given by the glorious Chinese Communist Party and from firm adherence to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung and opposition to the bourgeois revisionist line of the enemy of revolution and Marxism-Leninism.

Dear comrades, we would like to express once again our sincerest fraternal congratulations to you on the great victory represented by the first hydrogen bomb explosion. It is our earnest hope that the People's Republic of China, under the brilliant leadership of the resplendent thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, may score ever greater achievements in socialist construction and in the strengthening of the country's national defence, so as to bring benefit to the great Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the whole world.

China's Millions Acclaim Successful Explosion of Its First H-Bomb

THE happy news of the successful explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb has greatly heartened proletarian revolutionaries and the hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses throughout the country. Peking, heart of the nation, and towns and villages across the land rejoiced, acclaiming this success as another mighty victory for the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, another splendid achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Peking. Peking was jubilant when it got the news late in the night of June 17, and the reception centre of the Party Central Committee and the State Council was the focus of celebrating throngs. Carrying portraits of Chairman Mao, holding red banners high and waving their *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, people converged on the centre to offer congratulations. Cheers, gongs, drums and firecrackers resounded throughout the night. Congratulatory messages unanimously described the successful explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb as marking the start of a new stage in the development of nuclear weapons in China, as an event proclaiming the total bankruptcy of the nuclear monopoly blackmail practised by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists and a demonstration that for the Chinese people armed with the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, there is no height that cannot be scaled, no fortress that cannot be stormed and no force that can hold back their victorious advance.

When red rebels of the Peking Bedsheets Mill arrived at the reception centre, they showered the crowd with handbills embossed with the character

"double happiness" in red. The good news reached the Dongsheng People's Commune in suburban Peking when the poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members were fighting a night battle to harvest the wheat. They greeted the announcement with loud cheers and a team of 50 was dispatched immediately into the city to salute Chairman Mao. At the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the news brought 7,000 of the staff together for a flash demonstration. Proletarian revolutionaries on the literary and art front, immersed in the cultural revolution, quickly took to the streets to spread the news among the masses.

Elsewhere in China. In Shanghai, China's biggest industrial urban area, and other cities, columns of demonstrators surged to the seats of provincial and municipal revolutionary committees to celebrate the big event.

Young Red Guard fighters of Shanghai's No. 6 Girls' Middle School who have successfully achieved a revolutionary great alliance declared: The successful H-bomb test has further boosted the morale of the Chinese people and mightily enhanced the fighting spirit of the revolutionary people of the world. They pledged to follow Chairman Mao's teachings, learn from the Liberation Army, raise high the banner of revolutionary criticism and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

In Taiyuan, Shansi Province, the revolutionary masses, inspired by the success of this first H-bomb test, pledged to carry this victory forward by launch-

ing a still fiercer general offensive against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

When the good news reached the coastal city of Foochow, the whole city resounded with cheers of "Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" The revolutionary masses hailed the event as another leap in the development of nuclear weapons in China, a further blow to the erstwhile nuclear monopoly of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet modern revisionists and also a telling blow to the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang vainly dreaming of invading our mainland.

Revolutionary young fighters of universities and colleges in Huhehot of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, that same night wrote and posted up big-character posters and slogans hailing this great victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

When China's *S.S. Unity* and *Truth* sailing the seas near Japan, and the ocean liner *Yongning* journeying on the Indian Ocean, received the news, their crews immediately cabled back messages of greetings wishing a long, long life to our great leader Chairman Mao.

In P.L.A. Units. In army barracks, airfields and naval stations, commanders and fighters of the three services received the news with elation.

Commanders and fighters of an air force squadron guarding the capital said that the successful explosion had enabled them to see still more clearly how boundless was the power of that spiritual atom bomb—the all-illuminating thought of Mao Tse-tung. They

cheered again and again: Long live the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Commanders and fighters at frontier outposts atop the Pamirs jumped for joy. On their snow-clad mountains, they wrote out messages of greetings, held celebrations and promised Chairman Mao that they would hold their guns firmly, ready to defend their socialist motherland.

In the southwestern border regions, P.L.A. men joined with the people of many different national minorities to sing and dance their joy. More than a thousand Tais and Hanis came to a celebration jointly organized by the armymen stationed at Hsishuangpanna, Yunnan Province, and a dozen nearby villages. P.L.A. units in the Awa mountain region that same night organized 23 "Mao Tse-tung's thought" propaganda teams. Carrying Chairman Mao's portraits and beating gongs and drums, they carried the good news to every household.

The momentous news brought happy tears to commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. units guarding China's southeastern coast. They shouted again and again "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

The broad masses of P.L.A. commanders and fighters declared in high spirits that armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought they lacked nothing needed for victory, that armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the great Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army were wise and courageous, and able to work miracles, that Mao Tse-tung's thought was the guide for all work, the fundamental guarantee of victory.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

The Raging Tide of the Arab People Against U.S. Imperialism Is Irresistible

ALTHOUGH the Arab countries' war against aggression suffered a temporary setback because of U.S. and British imperialist collusion and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique's betrayal, the flames of the Arab people's anti-U.S. struggle still burn fiercely. U.S. imperialism and its accomplices can exert pressure on the Arab countries to make them accept a "ceasefire," but they can never extinguish the revolutionary conflagration of the Arab people's anti-imperialist struggle.

At present, the broad masses are holding gigantic demonstrations in Arab capitals in angry condemna-

tion of the towering crimes of U.S. and British imperialism. Many Arab countries have broken off diplomatic relations with the United States and stopped the flow of oil to U.S. and British imperialism. The U.A.R. has closed the Suez Canal. In some Arab countries, people are asking their Governments to issue them arms to resist aggression. Workers in some areas have refused to transport oil to the imperialist military bases in neighbouring areas. The Arab people are striking blows at U.S. imperialism and its lackey in a variety of ways. Their powerful slogans, "Down with U.S. and

British colonialists and their running dog, Israel!" "Soviet revisionists are traitors!" and "We want to fight!" are resounding throughout the Arab land. Bravo! You Arab people are a heroic people, indomitable and unconquerable.

The contradictions between the Arab people on the one hand and U.S. imperialism and its lackey on the other are irreconcilable. Imperialism and colonialism have carried out brutal exploitation, plunder, oppression and aggression in the Arab world over a long period. The Arab people have waged heroic and arduous struggles for national independence. At present, imperialism headed by the United States, in collusion with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, is stepping up its criminal neo-colonialist schemes through its tool of aggression, Israel. This is posing a grave threat to the survival of the Arab nation. The Arab people, who are unwilling to see their lands overrun by the aggressors, refuse to be neo-colonial slaves and they have vowed to carry this struggle against aggression through to the end.

The war has awakened and educated the people. In the few days and nights of war, the political consciousness of the Arab people rose more than in many normal years. This war against aggression has performed the role of mobilizing, educating and tempering the people.

Through this war, the Arab people have come to realize further that U.S. imperialism is their mortal enemy towards which no illusions whatever should be entertained. Only by waging a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism can the national-liberation cause of the Arab people win victory after victory.

Through this war, the Arab people have begun to recognize the ugly features of the Soviet revisionist renegade group as a U.S. imperialist accomplice. They have further distinguished friends from enemies. Thus, they will be able to avoid being trapped by those collaborators and accomplices of imperialism who have honey on their lips and murder in their hearts, and they will unite with the Asian, African and Latin American people and with all the revolutionary people of the world to resolutely advance the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle to victory.

It is perfectly natural for the different countries, classes and political forces in the Arab world to have different views on the current Middle East situation. But one thing is clear: Anyone who tries to direct the spearhead of struggle not against the Arab people's mortal enemy and its partners, but rather against the friends of the Arab people—and anyone who tries to defend the friends of the Arab people's enemies—stands no chance at all of winning the support of the Arab people, but is sure to be spurned and spat upon by them.

The Arab people have undergone a severe test in this war. They will learn in the struggle and be tempered in it. Newborn forces will continuously come to the

fore from the masses. These newborn forces will grow and become the mainstay of the Arab nation.

The road of struggle is always tortuous and by no means straight ahead. The people invariably have to go along a course of twists and turns and hardships in steadily advancing their anti-imperialist revolutionary cause.

At this time, the Arab people have suffered a temporary setback on the battlefield. But what of it? Haven't the Vietnamese people overcome one difficulty after another and gone through long-term arduous struggle before they were able to create the excellent situation they now have? So long as the Arab people are good at summing up their experience and draw lessons from the twists and turns, organize and accumulate strength and persevere in struggle, they can surely overcome every difficulty in opening up a bright future for themselves.

The great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao teaches us: "The raging tide of the people of the world against the U.S. aggressors is irresistible. Their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will assuredly win still greater victories."

The adverse current in the Arab countries stirred up by imperialism and Soviet revisionism absolutely cannot overwhelm the main current of the liberation movement of the Arab nation. The raging tide of the Arab people against U.S. imperialism is irresistible and so is the raging tide of the people of the world against this common enemy.

Today, the world has entered into a new, great epoch. The forces of revolution of the peoples of the world are far stronger than those of counter-revolution. The international situation and the balance of international class forces greatly favour the Arab people.

The struggle of the Arab people has won the support and aid of the people the world over. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the just struggles of the peoples of the world are supporting and assisting one another. The struggle of the Arab people against aggression is a powerful support and encouragement to the Vietnamese people who are valiantly resisting U.S. imperialism; it is a support to all the peoples of the world who are engaged in anti-imperialist struggles. Likewise, the great victories of the Vietnamese people's war to resist U.S. aggression and to save their country, and the national-liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America are a powerful support for the Arab people in their struggle.

The 700 million Chinese people are the most reliable and loyal comrades-in-arms of the Arab people in their anti-imperialist struggle. The Chinese people staunchly and wholeheartedly stand on the side of the Arab people. We are convinced that they can certainly completely defeat U.S. imperialism and its flunkey and win great victory if they unite and undertake a protracted, heroic struggle.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, June 15.)

Heighten Vigilance, Persevere In Struggle

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

THE Arab people's struggle against aggression has entered a more complicated and arduous stage.

U.S. imperialism is making an all-out effort to consolidate its aggressive positions in the Middle East after gaining some military success through the surprise attack which it instigated Israel to launch against the Arab countries.

U.S. imperialism is accustomed to using the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of war and "peace" to push ahead its policy of aggression. But this time it has used these tactics in the Middle East in a more sinister way than before. It kept in the background at first and, as a major step, let Israel, its running dog, unleash the war of aggression. Later, it came out as a third party and used the United Nations to conduct its "peace" manoeuvres. In this way, it has closely co-ordinated its dual tactics to achieve its aggressive designs on the Arab countries.

People can now see quite clearly that all these developments, from Israel's armed attacks to the U.N. "ceasefire" appeals and then to the so-called "political settlement" now being hatched, are steps painstakingly planned in advance by U.S. imperialism for its purposes of aggression. The U.S. imperialist chieftains, assuming the airs of "victors," are casting aside all their recent nicely worded promises about upholding the "political independence and territorial integrity of all countries" in the Middle East. They are openly opposing the demand that the Israeli aggressive troops get out of those places now under their forcible occupation. And they are clamouring that things cannot all be returned to the original state before the start of hostilities on June 5. Their Israeli flunkies have acted in a more undisguised manner and advanced wild demands for expansion. U.S. imperialism's aggressive designs on the Arab countries are now clear as day-light.

However, Washington still wants to hoodwink the Arab people. It is trying its best to make them believe that the United Nations is "a proper forum to achieve peace in the Middle East." The Soviet revisionist clique is loudly parrotting the same theme.

What sort of stuff is this "peace in the Middle East" as referred to by U.S. imperialism?

The current aggression against the Arab countries launched by U.S. imperialism is part of its counter-revolutionary global strategy aimed at establishing world hegemony. It is the set policy of U.S. imperialism

to foster the Israeli Zionist regime, threaten the Arab countries, and seek every opportunity to launch aggression against them in order to suppress the anti-imperialist struggles of the Arab people, and to consolidate and expand its strategic position and colonial interests in the Middle East. By "peace in the Middle East," U.S. imperialism means to further push its neo-colonialist policy in the Middle East, to plunder and enslave the Arab people while forbidding them to rise in resistance. Can the Arab people entertain any illusions about this most ferocious enemy? Definitely not!

Is the United Nations a "proper forum" to achieve peace in the Middle East?

The ignominious record of the United Nations has long proved that it is nothing but a tool for aggression by U.S. imperialism and now it has again played this shameful role. What is more, U.S. imperialism is now plotting, with the close collaboration of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, to use the United Nations to impose on the Arab countries a brigandish formula which is very harmful to the interests of the Arab people. Is it conceivable that the United Nations, a U.S. imperialist tool for aggression, can, under the manipulation of such big powers as the United States and the Soviet Union, do anything unfavourable to the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression? This is absolutely impossible.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said, "The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle."

In the struggle against aggression this time, the Arab people have suffered enough from U.S. imperialist aggression, from the betrayal by the Soviet revisionist clique, and from the "mediation" by the United Nations. The lesson is painful indeed. U.S. imperialism and its partners are now stepping up their plot to commit further aggression against the Arab countries. The Arab people must draw a lesson from this and distinguish between friends and enemies. They must sharpen their vigilance, and must not believe in the enemies' "fine words," nor should they be afraid of their threats. The struggle is indeed arduous and complex. But so long as they are resolute and persevere in the struggle, the Arab people will certainly overcome every difficulty and win final victory.

("Renmin Ribao," June 17.)

Peking Review, No. 26

Grasping and Defending Mao Tse-tung's Thought — the Absolute Task of Revolutionary Journalists

THE Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association took place in Peking from June 15 to 17.

This was a revolutionary meeting which held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The delegates from many countries, using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guide, analysed the current international situation and put forth the future fighting task of Afro-Asian Journalists' Association. After thorough discussion by the delegates, the meeting unanimously adopted the General Resolution on the Current International Political Situation. (For full text see p. 43) Other documents adopted were: the "Resolution on Vietnam," "Resolution on the Arab People's Struggle," "Resolution on Africa," and "Resolution on the Second Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference." It was also announced that the Second Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference would be convened in the People's Republic of China in 1968.

The delegates of the member countries of the Secretariat present were: Ahmed Gora Ebrahim of Azania (South Africa), D. Manuweera of Ceylon, Lu Pin and Yang Yi of China, Supeno of Indonesia, Yuchi Kobayashi and Ichiharu Sugiyama of Japan, Mamadou Gologo of Mali, Minhaj Barna of Pakistan and Said Salim Abdulla of Tanzania. The Syrian member, A. Aboukoss, delegated Djawoto as his representative. Umar Said, Director of the General Office of the Secretariat, was also present.

General Line of the A.A.J.A.

Secretary-General Djawoto made a general report at the opening meeting. It consisted of two parts, the first part was a political report which dealt with the characteristics of the present world international situation and the excellent situation in the people's revolutionary struggle in the Afro-Asian countries. The second part dealt with the Association's activities and achievements and the future fighting tasks.

In his general report, Djawoto pointed out that the world revolution is entering into a new and historic era, an era of Mao Tse-tung's thought, in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and world revolution is advancing towards an all-round victory. He said that the A.A.J.A. must adhere to the general line of opposing imperialism and modern revisionism, and that the struggle of the revolutionary Afro-Asian

journalists must be integrated with the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples and push that struggle ahead. He emphasized that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding principle and the sharpest weapon in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, and for national liberation and salvation. Consequently, it is the absolute task of the revolutionaries and revolutionary journalists to study, apply and defend Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Djawoto also said that the situation in the present struggle of the Afro-Asian and the world's people against imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism is excellent. "People's struggle, particularly people's armed struggle, is surging. The new feature of the present anti-imperialist struggle of the Afro-Asian and Latin American people and the oppressed nations is the launching of people's war as the sole means of attaining genuine independence. An increasing number of Afro-Asian and Latin American people have embarked on the road of people's war as pointed out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The United States imperialism has now fallen into a consorted encirclement by the Afro-Asian and Latin American people and the people of the whole world," he added.

Djawoto said: "Another salient feature of the present situation is the exposure of the treacherous nature of the modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionist leading clique. The Afro-Asian people and the people of the whole world have come to a better understanding of the treacherous nature of the Soviet revisionists than ever before." He pointed out that Soviet revisionists had betrayed Marxism-Leninism, thereby betraying the struggle of the people the world over for national and social liberation and betraying all the principles laid down by the Great October Revolution. Just as Chairman Mao has said. "The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line. . . One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism."

"Another salient aspect of the present world situation," Djawoto added, "is the fact that the 700 million Chinese people are now valiantly carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and personally led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It is unprecedented in

history and a world-shaking event." Warmly acclaiming Mao Tse-tung's thought and the international significance of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, Djawoto said, "Chairman Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed the teachings of Marx and Lenin with genius, creatively and comprehensively, and has raised it to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought illuminates the bright road for the revolutionary people the world over, particularly for the people in the colonies, semi-colonies, and semi-feudal countries. The brilliant teachings of Mao Tse-tung clearly prove the fact that Chairman Mao is not only a great leader of the Chinese people and the Chinese revolution but also a great leader of the world's people and the world revolution."

He said the aim of China's great proletarian cultural revolution which was initiated and led by Chairman Mao is to ensure that China will never change its political colour, that China will always be the vanguard of the world and the proletariat struggle. This powerful proletarian cultural revolution will accelerate the progress of our history and usher in a new era of international proletarian revolutionary struggles. The victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is the victory of the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, has further consolidated the position of China as the bastion of the world revolution and encouraged and strengthened the revolutionary liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"The great proletarian cultural revolution has inspired not only the militant and rebel spirit of the Chinese people but also that of the revolutionary people throughout the world. It even gives a powerful impetus to the continued rebellion against world imperialism headed by the United States."

"Therefore," Djawoto stressed, "it is the absolute task for the revolutionaries and revolutionary journalists to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and support and defend the People's Republic of China as the base area for the revolution of the world's people."

Djawoto said that the A.A.J.A. Secretariat strongly condemns the U.S.-British imperialist instigated Israeli armed aggression against the Arab countries, vehemently denounces the Soviet revisionist betrayal of the Arab people and resolutely supports the Arab people in their just struggle against U.S.-British imperialism and their tool — Israel.

Dealing with the Association's activities and future tasks, Djawoto said in his general report that A.A.J.A. should organize the Afro-Asian journalists to study, apply and propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought in order to pass on Mao Tse-tung's thought to the Afro-Asian people and encourage them to dare to fight and dare to win, and to rebel against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

At the June 18 meeting, the delegates discussed the general report in detail and in their speeches expressed their full agreement with it.

At the closing ceremony on the afternoon of June 17, delegates hailed the success of the meeting and stated that it marked a new stage in the struggle waged by A.A.J.A. against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction. They declared that they would make studying, defending and propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought their own fighting task and fulfil the general resolution adopted by the meeting and whatever difficulties might arise, they would unite and fight for ever with the A.A.J.A. and the Afro-Asian people. They also expressed determination to make active preparations for the victorious convening of the Second Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference.

On the evening of the same day, Premier Chou En-lai received the delegates of various countries to the Fifth Plenary Meeting and had a cordial conversation with them. That evening, Djawoto gave a reception to celebrate the victorious closing of the meeting. The next day, a celebration rally was held by the A.A.J.A. and the All-China Journalists' Association which was attended by more than a thousand people in Peking.

New Page in History of Afro-Asian Revolutionary Journalists' Struggle

Renmin Ribao in its June 18 editorial "Afro-Asian journalists, Unite and Hold Fast to the Revolutionary Line of Opposition to Imperialism and Revisionism" enthusiastically congratulated the Afro-Asian journalists' meeting for its success.

This meeting, the editorial says, was one at which the Afro-Asian revolutionary journalists raised high the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, a meeting which held fast to the revolutionary line of opposition to imperialism and revisionism and of the solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries.

"The Afro-Asian Journalists' Association takes the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as a guiding principle and as a powerful ideological weapon for the Afro-Asian peoples and journalists to carry out the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and revisionism, thus opening a new page in the history of the Afro-Asian revolutionary journalists' struggle."

The editorial points out: "The brilliant success of this meeting and the series of resolutions it adopted not only set the immediate tasks in the struggle for the Afro-Asian journalists but also indicate the orientation of the coming struggle. All this will inevitably exercise a far-reaching influence over the further development of the Afro-Asian people's struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries."

"Chairman Mao has pointed out: 'To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.' Newspapers, journals and the radio are powerful instruments for creating public opinion. Extremely sharp and complex

struggles between the revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary line have always existed on the journalist front in Asia and Africa."

The editorial says that the A.A.J.A. Secretariat has always pursued a revolutionary line and fought for the just revolutionary cause, thus making important contributions to the cause of the Afro-Asian people's

solidarity against imperialism. Hence it has won the support of the revolutionary journalists and the people of both continents.

In conclusion, the editorial expresses the belief that progressive journalists on the two continents, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, will surely make still more valuable contributions in the coming days.

Study and Propagate Mao Tse-tung's Thought to Promote the Revolutionary Cause of Asia and Africa

—General Resolution on the Current International Political Situation

(Adopted at the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association in Peking, From June 15 to 17, 1967)

THE Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, convened in Peking, from June 15 to June 17, 1967,

After discussing the General Report by the Secretary-General of the A.A.J.A. on June 15, and after thoroughly studying the current political situation, unanimously approves the General Report of the Secretary-General and unanimously adopts the following resolution:

I. International Situation

We are holding this Secretariat Meeting just when we are facing the most important moments of history, in a situation which was never so excellent as it is now, and in an entirely new era in which the masters are the people and the great banner is the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

This new historical epoch is marked primarily by the great upsurge of world revolution against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries of the world, and by the great uprising of people's armed struggle in various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. World revolution is advancing to worldwide victory!

On the other hand, U.S.-led world imperialism, torn by inner contradictions, battered and besieged by the mighty force of the world's revolutionary people, is heading for total collapse. All the political forces are undergoing a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization.

Although there will always be turns and setbacks in history, the main trend in the current situation is

the high tide of the people's struggle in the world as a whole. Undoubtedly, victory will belong to the Afro-Asian people and the people of the world. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history."

II. Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Revisionist Struggle

a) The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat vigorously condemns and denounces the U.S. imperialist escalation of the war in Vietnam by extending its bombing to the northern part of Vietnam and attacking through military offensives the demilitarized zone.

It also exposes Soviet modern revisionism for its role on the Vietnam question, which is sham support but real betrayal. They are active in engineering "peace talks" for U.S. imperialism, openly bringing pressure upon the Vietnamese people in an attempt to compel the Vietnamese people to give up the armed struggle and to surrender to U.S. imperialism.

The people's armed forces in Vietnam, fighting U.S. imperialism and its stooges in Vietnam, are growing and being steeled in the battles against imperialist aggressions, and day by day have gained in size, scope and strength.

The Meeting firmly supports the 4-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the 5-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

The Meeting also highly appraises the Vietnamese people's role in developing people's war and their

heroic struggle in the battlefields where U.S. imperialism is badly beaten and has been driven to a stage of desperation. Every increase in the scale of U.S. involvement brings with it contradictions, political, economic and military, which serve to intensify the problems of the aggressor, thus exposing completely the paper tiger character of U.S. imperialism. The Meeting is convinced that the Vietnamese people will fight till their final victory.

Finally, the Secretariat Meeting pays attention to the fact that the 700 million Chinese people constitute a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation. The A.A.J.A., together with the revolutionary forces of the two continents, will give their full support to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle which is bound to be victorious.

b) Openly instigated and initiated by U.S. imperialism, its stooge "Israel" flagrantly launched, on June 5, sudden attacks against the U.A.R., Syria and Jordan, and thus started a war of aggression against the Arab countries and people.

This act of brutal aggression was premeditated and plotted long ago by U.S. imperialism, by openly concentrating their naval and air forces within the reach of "Israel's" war purposes. This constitutes a new and grave war provocation against the entire Arab people.

This aggressive design of U.S. imperialism has also been secretly supported and jointly hatched up by the Soviet ruling clique which has actively been engaged in steamrolling "ceasefire resolutions" through the U.N. Security Council. This shows that the Soviet modern revisionists, for the sole purpose of maintaining the "status quo" in the Middle East in the interest of the U.S. imperialists, even resort to whatever measures to force the Arab people to surrender immediately to the U.S.-"Israeli" aggressors.

The treacherous manoeuvres of the Soviet modern revisionists and their dirty collaboration with U.S. and British imperialism against the Arab people have been completely revealed.

The Meeting vehemently condemns and opposes the Soviet modern revisionists for their dirty role in betraying the Arab people's cause. Finally, the Meeting firmly supports the Arab people's fight against U.S. imperialism and its lackey "Israel," and in their struggle against the Number One accomplice of U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism.

c) The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Secretariat of the A.A.J.A. firmly supports the armed struggles carried out by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, such as Laos, Thailand, Indonesia, North Kalimantan, Malaya, the Philippines, South Yemen, Oman, the Congo (K), Angola, Mozambique, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Zimbabwe, Azania, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Guatemala, Peru, and in other areas. The armed

struggle waged by the Afro-Asian and Latin American people is rapidly mounting and magnificent victories are reported daily. The Meeting expressed the firm belief that the patriotic armed struggle of Afro-Asian and Latin American people will be crowned with victory.

The Meeting stresses the universal truth in the teachings of Mao Tse-tung that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." It stresses that the only way for the liberation of the Afro-Asian and Latin American people from imperialism and old and new colonialism is armed struggle. It also emphasizes that all peaceful means cannot achieve real independence and victory in the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle.

The Meeting fully supports the people of Indonesia in their struggle against the fascist Suharto-Nasution regime, condemns the brutal massacre launched against the revolutionary people, and demand the immediate release of revolutionary and other progressive fighters, including the Indonesian progressive journalists from the fascist prisons and concentration camps.

The Meeting also expresses its support to the struggle of the people of Japan, south Korea and India against U.S. imperialism and local reactionaries in these countries.

The Meeting supports the struggle of the people of Cambodia against aggression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and for safeguarding national independence and territorial sovereignty.

The Plenary Meeting extends full support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their just struggle for freedom and the right to self-determination and against India's colonial subjugation backed by the U.S.-led imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. It condemns the Indian rulers for committing atrocities on the Kashmir people. It agrees with the view that only a people's war by the Kashmir people can force the Indian authorities to submit to the will of the people. The Meeting cannot but also condemn the treacherous role played by the United Nations in throwing to the wind its own resolutions on Kashmir under dictates of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists.

The Meeting supports the struggles of the peoples of South-West Africa and French Somali against colonialism and for national independence.

The Meeting also supports the struggle of the people of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland for genuine independence.

The Meeting supports the struggle of the peoples in Asian and African independent countries for consolidating their independence and for developing national economy and culture, with self-reliance as the basis. It also supports their struggle against subversion, intervention and aggression by the imperialists,

modern revisionists and new and old colonialists. It also supports the revolutionary struggles in other parts of the world.

d) The United Nations has proved, over the years, to be a mere tool of U.S. imperialism. Resolutions adopted in the U.N. Security Council on Korea, the Congo (K) were all in favour of U.S. imperialism and against the interest of the Afro-Asian people. On the question of the Congo (K), U.S. imperialism connived with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique to suppress the heroic struggle of the Congolese people, and which led to the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

The recent events in the Middle East clearly demonstrated the role of the U.N. when it failed to condemn U.S.-"Israeli" aggression but instead tied the hands of the Arab people from defending themselves with arms against imperialist aggression.

Therefore the Meeting strongly condemns the manipulation of the U.N. by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists to carve up the world for joint domination.

e) The Fifth Plenary Secretariat Meeting of the A.A.J.A. condemns the Soviet modern revisionists for their capitulationist and splitist activities in the Afro-Asian progressive and revolutionary movements.

The Meeting condemns the Beirut illegal bogus A.A. writers' conference and the so-called Nicosia A.A.P.S.O. council meeting

Finally, the Meeting firmly supports the 5th Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference and the 3rd Afro-Asian Writers' Conference to be held in Peking.

f) U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy of the Afro-Asian people and the people of the world. To defeat U.S. imperialism is the most urgent task for the present time. In order to isolate and defeat U.S. imperialism, it is imperative to form a broad international united front against U.S. imperialism.

This front must unite all the people who suffer from suppression, aggression, subversion, intervention, domination by U.S. imperialism. But Soviet modern revisionism who is the Number One accomplice of U.S. imperialism should by no means be included in this united front.

To fight against imperialism, it is imperative to fight against modern revisionism. Soviet modern revisionism has degenerated to a renegade and a betrayer of the world's people's revolution. It actively maintains the imperialist and colonialist rule in the capitalist world, and is engaged in restoring capitalism in socialist countries.

In collusion with U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism suppresses, undermines, and splits the revolutionary movements of the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world. Therefore it is the urgent task of the revolutionary fighters and journalists to thoroughly

expose and vehemently oppose Soviet modern revisionism in all its forms and manifestations.

III. China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution And Mao Tse-tung's Thought

a) The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself is a world-shaking event of great historical and international importance. Chairman Mao has developed and enriched the theory of world revolution, solved a series of questions, theoretically and practically, of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This powerful cultural revolution will undoubtedly accelerate the progress of history and mankind and usher in a new era of the people's revolution in the world. The great proletarian cultural revolution not only prevents the restoration of capitalism in China itself but also constitutes an important struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and against modern revisionism with the Soviet leading clique as its centre. The great proletarian cultural revolution deals heavy blows to imperialism, to Soviet revisionism and to all reactionaries of the world. Through this giant and immense cultural revolution, China will emerge as a more consolidated centre, and the bulwark of world revolution. The victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution has enabled China to support the revolutionary struggles more effectively.

The Plenary Meeting of the Secretariat of the A.A.J.A. praises and firmly supports the great proletarian cultural revolution as its own revolution. We will certainly study Mao Tse-tung's thought, carry it out faithfully, propagate it and defend it courageously.

b) Chairman Mao Tse-tung is not only guiding China's revolution and the Chinese people forward but also leading all oppressed people and nations of the world in their advance. Therefore Chairman Mao Tse-tung is not only the great leader and the great teacher of the Chinese people but also the respected and beloved great leader of the revolutionary people the world over.

The great thought of Mao Tse-tung has become the powerful ideological weapon and guiding principle for the people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world in their struggle against imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

In their revolutionary practice, the Afro-Asian people have proved that whenever they act in conformity with Mao Tse-tung's thought they certainly will win victories and will advance wave upon wave, but on the contrary even if for a single moment they divorce themselves from it they will suffer setbacks and failure. Mao Tse-tung's thought is a revolutionary science, and tested in many years through history it becomes a universal truth applicable everywhere. The

(Continued on p. 53.)

Resolutely Repel the Indian Reactionaries' Provocations

FOR a long time, the Indian reactionaries have tailed along U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in engaging in a rabid anti-China campaign. Recently, members of the Indian Embassy in China went so far as to engage in espionage activities during China's great proletarian cultural revolution. When the Chinese authorities concerned made the decision to deport Raghunath, former Second Secretary of the Indian Embassy in China for espionage, the reactionary Indian Government, having lost face, became angry and plotted the serious outrage of raiding the Chinese Embassy in India. Broad sections of the Chinese revolutionary masses are deeply angered by this provocation of the Indian reactionaries, and they make it clear that they will resolutely repel this provocation and carry the struggle against the Indian reactionaries through to the end.

The Indian spy Raghunath left Peking on June 14 under the escort of Chinese public security personnel and Red Guards. P. Vijai, former Third Secretary of the Indian Embassy in China, who had been declared *persona non grata* and ordered to leave China within a set time, left on the same day. Raghunath was deported at the border town of Shumchun on June 15.

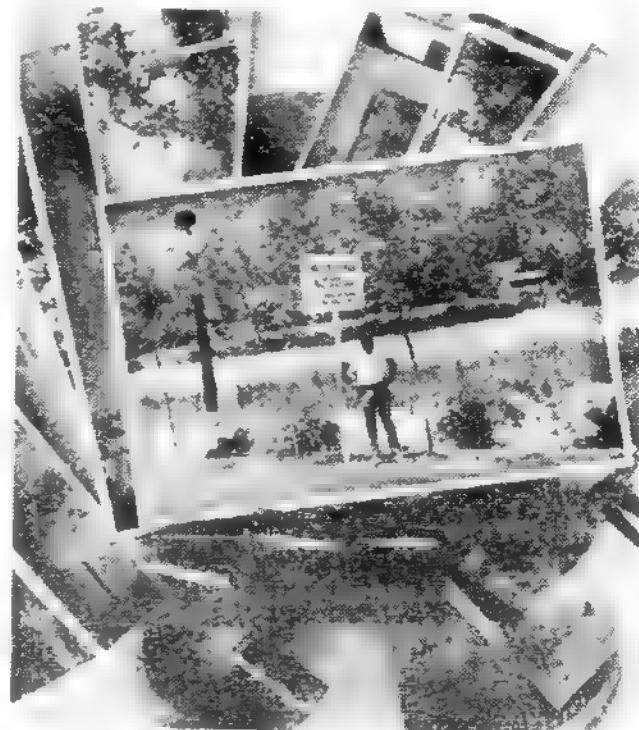
The way this spy case was dealt with by the Chinese authorities concerned is an important step taken by organs of the proletarian dictatorship in China to safeguard the great proletarian cultural revolution and an important achievement in defending the national security of China and its state secrets.

Statement of the Foreign Ministry Spokesman

The spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on June 14 made a statement regarding the espionage activities of Indian diplomatic officials in China. "The intensified activities by members of the Indian Embassy in China to steal intelligence about China during our great proletarian cultural revolution are by no means accidental or isolated," the spokesman said. Unreconciled to their defeat, imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist leading clique as its centre and all reactionaries had whipped up one anti-China wave after another, and frenziedly opposed and viciously attacked China's great

proletarian cultural revolution. "For this purpose, they have directed the members of the missions and the correspondents of imperialism, revisionism and reaction in China to engage unscrupulously in all kinds of illegal activities, trying to steal by every means political, military and economic intelligence about our country and to collect ammunition for anti-Chinese propaganda."

Exposing the innumerable crimes of these foreign reactionary elements, the spokesman said that they were snooping around with ulterior motives, surreptitiously photographing, copying and stealing big-character posters; resorting to all kinds of sinister methods to collect large numbers of materials such as papers, journals, pamphlets and leaflets put out by the various Chinese revolutionary mass organizations; probing for inside information from our masses by posing as personnel from friendly countries; sneaking into our Party and government departments, people's organizations, schools and enterprises by posing as Chinese; and even



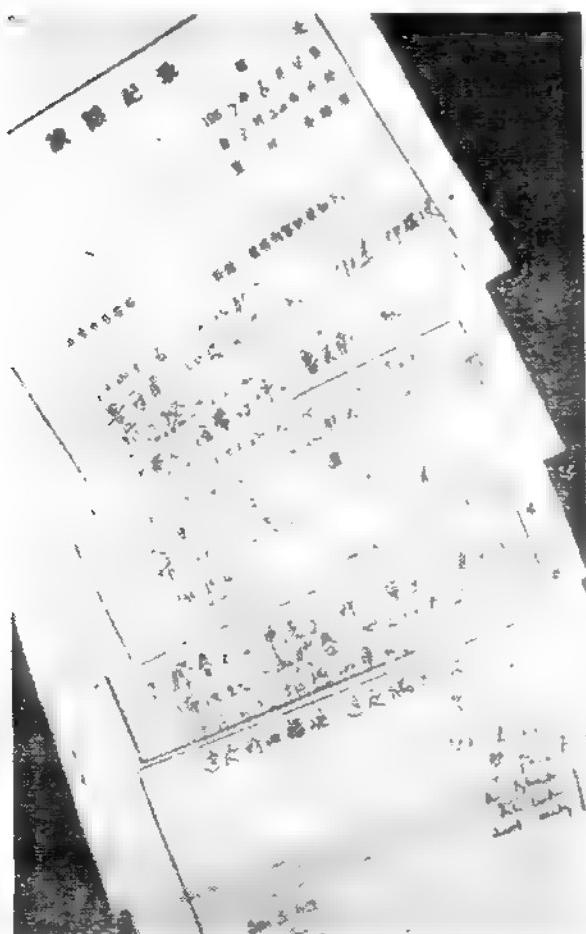
Photographs surreptitiously taken by the Indian spy Raghunath

illegally going beyond the limits allowed for the travel of foreigners and surreptitiously taking photographs of prohibited areas, etc.

In conclusion, the spokesman warned the foreign reactionaries by declaring: "the Chinese Government and the broad revolutionary masses of China absolutely will not tolerate your activities on Chinese soil detrimental to our state interests. You must abide by China's laws and decrees, respect China's revolutionary order and stop all your illegal activities. Otherwise, you must bear the responsibility for all the grave consequences arising therefrom. The case of Second Secretary K. Raghunath and Third Secretary P. Vijai of the Indian Embassy in China serves as a warning to you."

The Indian Reactionaries' Anti-China Provocations

Shamed to anger by the deportation from China of the spy Raghunath, the Indian Government resorted to an extremely despicable tactic; it unjustifiably demanded that Chen Lu-chih, First Secretary of the Chinese Embassy in India, leave India immediately and also unjustifi-



Record of Interrogations in which Raghunath confesses his guilt

fably declared Third Secretary Hsieh Cheng-hao "persona non grata" and ordered him to leave within a definite time.

On the evening of June 15, a responsible member of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry summoned D. Sathe, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Indian Embassy in China, and handed him a note protesting most strongly against the persecution of the Chinese diplomatic officials by the Indian Government. The note pointed out that this unreasonable measure was an act of serious provocation taken by the Indian Government to deliberately worsen the relations between China and India still further and that the aim was to cover up the unseemly conduct of members of the Indian Embassy in China.

The note says: "The Chinese Government categorically rejects the trumped-up charges levelled by the Indian Government against First Secretary Chen Lu-chih and Third Secretary Hsieh Cheng-hao of the Chinese Embassy in India and its absurd refusal to recognize the diplomatic status of First Secretary Chen Lu-chih. The Chinese Government has now decided to recall at once First Secretary Chen Lu-chih and Third Secretary Hsieh Cheng-hao. The Indian Government must effectively ensure their safety before their departure from India and must not on any pretext obstruct their normal diplomatic activities. Otherwise it has to bear responsibility for all the serious consequences arising therefrom."

After handing the note to Sathe, the responsible member of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged two verbal protests with the Indian Charge d'Affaires ad interim over the following incidents: 1. At the instigation of the Indian Government, hundreds of gangsters on June 14 staged provocations in front of the Chinese Embassy in India, by shouting reactionary slogans and attacking the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao. They also wrecked the news photo display cases in front of the embassy building. 2. The Indian Government has imposed unreasonable restrictions on the freedom of movement of the Chinese embassy staff and their families. The responsible member pointed out that these moves are provocations and discrimination against the Chinese Embassy. He demanded that the Indian Government immediately rescind these unreasonable measures.

On June 16, at the instigation of the Indian Government, a serious incident took place in New Delhi in which more than 1,000 Indian hooligans raided the Chinese Embassy in India, the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao Tse-tung was insulted, the national flag of the People's Republic of China was torn

up, the Chinese embassy members were beaten, buildings were wrecked and vehicles were burnt.

Before the Indian hooligans raided the Chinese Embassy, large numbers of Indian policemen had already surrounded it and when the ruffians were breaking through the embassy gate, carrying out wilful destruction and committing wanton assault within the Embassy, the Indian policemen on the spot, instead of stopping them, directly commanded and joined in these atrocities.

After the ruffians broke into the Chinese Embassy, they blatantly advanced to haul down from the flag staff the national flag of the People's Republic of China. In order to defend the dignity of the motherland, eight members of the Embassy put up a heroic resistance against the fascist outrage of the ruffians. The eight members of the Embassy who defended the Chinese national flag were savagely beaten and seriously wounded.

During the raid on the Chinese Embassy, the Embassy several times telephoned officials of the Indian Foreign Ministry, and demanded the Indian Government take immediate measures to stop this outrage. But they turned a deaf ear to this.

The Indian Government, violating the most elementary principles guiding international relations, also cut off telegraphic communication between the Chinese Embassy in India and the Chinese Government.

In regard to this matter, a responsible member of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on the morning of June 17 handed a note to Indian Charge d'Affaires a.i. D. Sathe, serving a serious warning and lodging the strongest protest with the Indian Government. The note solemnly declared: "Starting from this very moment, no person of Indian nationality in the Indian Embassy in China is allowed to leave the Embassy without the permission of the Chinese authorities concerned. Otherwise, the Indian side shall be held responsible for all the consequences."

In order to further persecute the Chinese diplomatic personnel the Indian Government on June 16 unjustifiably refused to grant an exit permit to First Secretary of the Chinese Embassy Chen Lu chi.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a note to the Indian Embassy in China on June 19, lodged the strongest protest with the Indian Government against the serious outrage of attacking the Chinese Embassy in India by the Indian ruffians on June 16. The note demanded that the Indian Government admit its mistake, make an open apology, immediately punish the culprits, compensate for all the losses, provide fully adequate medical facilities for the wounded Chinese personnel, and guarantee that no similar incident will occur in the future. Otherwise, the Indian Government will be held

fully responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

After recalling a series of facts regarding the Indian ruffians' outrage in raiding the Chinese Embassy in India on June 16, the note pointed out: "This grave incident of assaulting the Chinese Embassy was entirely planned and engineered by the Indian Government. This is a serious sanguinary crime committed by the Indian Government against the Chinese people and one more striking example of its flagrant transgression of international law and violation of the principles guiding international relations. This incident has completely revealed to the people of the whole world the reactionary fascist features of the Indian Government. The Chinese Government and people must seriously warn the Indian Government: The 700 million Chinese people are not to be trifled with and the Chinese diplomatic personnel armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are not to be bullied. If you do not immediately rein in before the precipice but want to further aggravate the relations between the two countries, then come out with all the 'prowess' you still have! We will certainly take you on and keep you company to the end."

On June 18, a responsible member of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry handed a note to Indian Charge d'Affaires a.i. Sathe, which declared that the Chinese Government had decided to immediately send a special plane to New Delhi to take back the Chinese diplomatic personnel wounded by the Indian ruffians.

The Chinese People Will Carry the Struggle Against The Indian Reactionaries to the End

The Indian reactionaries' fascist outrage infuriated broad sections of the revolutionary masses in Peking. During three days, from June 17 to 19, thousands upon thousands of the masses and Red Guards demonstrated before the Indian Embassy and pasted big-character posters and protest slogans on the walls of the Indian Embassy. They strongly protested against and condemned the Indian Government's anti-China outrages.

Holding up portraits of Chairman Mao, *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and big placards, the demonstrators shouted: "Down with the Indian reactionaries!" "Strongly protest against the Indian Government's unreasonable persecution of Chinese diplomatic personnel!" "Resolutely eliminate all spies of imperialism, revisionism and reaction!" The demonstrators repeatedly read the following quotation from Chairman Mao: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

World Enters New Era in Which Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Great Banner

— Highlights of Speeches by Foreign Writers and Friends at the Seminar Sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau in Peking to Commemorate the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art

At the seminar sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau in Peking from May 31 to June 5 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," (see "Peking Review," No. 24, 1967) writers and friends from many lands in their speeches enthusiastically acclaimed the world's entry into a new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner, and the fact that Mao Tse-tung's thought has illuminated the road of liberation for the world's people. Following are the main points in their speeches. — Ed.

Senanayake (Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau): Chairman Mao's brilliant *Talks* is of extremely great international significance. It provides all revolutionary, progressive literary and art workers with the correct political guidance and is the beacon light for the Afro-Asian writers' movement and for these literary and art workers.

The aim of our present seminar is to examine how we can do still better in integrating, according to Chairman Mao's instructions, the two fronts—cultural and military—in the liberation struggle of the oppressed people of the world.

On the question of literature and art, the revolutionary, progressive writers of Asia and Africa have used the weapon of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to wage resolute struggles against the Soviet modern revisionists, exposing their various fallacies of separating literature and art from revolutionary struggle. The basic differences in principle on the question of literature and art between the revolutionary, progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world and the Soviet modern revisionists are whether or not to make revolution and whether or not to fight imperialism. Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary, progressive writers of Asia and Africa persist in holding high the great banner of opposing imperialism headed by the United States, colonialism and neo-colonialism and supporting the national-liberation struggles of the Asian and African peoples, while the Soviet modern revisionists go all out to advertise the fallacy that art is for art's sake, stripping culture and art of revolutionary political content, catering to the

needs of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and corrupting and paralyzing the fighting will of the Asian and African peoples.

Djawoto (Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association): Chairman Mao's great work *Talks* is the powerful ideological weapon for the Chinese people in defeating their internal and external enemies and also the ideological weapon for the world's people in opposing imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism and revisionism and winning national and social liberation, democracy and peace.

Chairman Mao is the great Lenin of our time. He has inherited and developed Marxism-Leninism and pushed it forward to a completely new and still higher stage.

The Soviet modern revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the revolution of the proletariat, sunk to the same level as imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries, colluding with them in opposing and suppressing the revolution of the world's people. To oppose imperialism, it is necessary to oppose revisionism. It is our sacred duty to unceasingly expose modern revisionism.

Revolutionary literary and art workers must use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to guide their work and struggle, firmly side with the people, conduct struggles against imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, and strive for the worldwide victory of socialism.

Osman Hassan Ahmed (writer from Sudan): The brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought has penetrated deep into every corner of the African continent, driving away the dark clouds and mist there and giving the fighting African people a clear view of their road to victory. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in our time and the powerful weapon for combating all the decadent bourgeois and revisionist ideas spread by the Soviet modern revisionist leading clique to undermine the just struggle of the African people.

Anna Louise Strong (writer from the United States): Chairman Mao wisely points out that imperialism and

all reactionaries are paper tigers and that it is the people who are really powerful. We should, therefore, rely on the people. Chairman Mao teaches us that imperialism becomes powerless when the people raise their political consciousness. The task of our writers is, therefore, to use Chairman Mao's instructions to awaken their consciousness.

Fidelia (writer from Haiti): Like a lighthouse, Chairman Mao's immortal work *Talks* guides the revolutionary writers and artists of the world in their fierce assault against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

Only by relying on revolutionary armed force can we establish political power and open the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat; only thus can we create a genuine art, art which serves the fundamental interests of the masses.

Chairman Mao's work of genius, the *Talks*, sounds the death knell for all the reactionary and decadent ideas of the bourgeoisie; it is the fighting programme for all the oppressed and exploited people of the world.

Chairman Mao's *Talks* is the great compass which has guided the development of Chinese society during the last 25 years. It is precisely under the guidance of the *Talks* that the world significant great cultural revolution which safeguards communism against capitalist restoration is now unfolding in China.

We revolutionaries of Haiti do not want the poisonous stuff which imperialism and its lackeys, the revisionists, offer us for the purpose of keeping us in the bondage of servitude. We want the kind of literature and art which can serve us as powerful weapons in our struggle to liberate us from the claws of U.S. imperialism. Only Chairman Mao's *Talks* can provide us with literature and art of this kind. The work of genius, the *Talks*, is an inestimable contribution made by the great teacher of the international proletariat to the people of the world.

Rewi Alley (friend from New Zealand): Revolutionary writers and artists should know whom they are serving. In the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression in various parts of the world and in the current international class struggle, the writers should produce more material to show where true strength lies and that people mean more than armaments. We are facing a changing world today. We writers should take prompt action to fight with our pens.

H.M. Petrela (friend from Albania): Every revolutionary writer should first of all study Chairman Mao's brilliant work, the *Talks*, unreservedly serve the people's cause and wholeheartedly serve the peasants, workers and soldiers and make literature and art a powerful weapon in the struggle for social progress and the sacred revolutionary cause of communism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his *Talks* has made immeasurable contributions to the development of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and the literature and art of the proletariat. Whether in China or throughout the

world, the ideas advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the *Talks* are of especially great significance for establishing revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat, which serve proletarian politics and class struggle.

In the great life-and-death struggle between Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and proletarian literature and art on one hand and the imperialist aesthetics and the bourgeois literature and art on the other, Chairman Mao's brilliant work lights up the way forward for the revolutionary literary and art workers of the world.

Robert Williams (friend from the United States): Chairman Mao's thought is universally applicable. It is a guide-line for revolutionaries in all climes and in all seasons. The pen and the gun are the two weapons indispensable for overthrowing oppression and tyranny. We who are oppressed, who labour and struggle for the liberation of the oppressed, know the inherent truth of Chairman Mao's statement that "To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."

P.V. Sarma (writer from Malaya): Chairman Mao's brilliant work is a systematic and scientific summary of the history of the struggle between the two lines on the literature and art front, an ideological weapon for the oppressed classes and people in their struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, a programmatic document for the great proletarian cultural revolution and a manifesto for preventing a capitalist restoration and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat where this dictatorship has been established.

A guiding light for all the revolutionary literary and art workers shone from a Yenan earth cave 25 years ago when Chairman Mao made his epoch-making *Talks*. Chairman Mao pointed out the need to "ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind."

We must use the *Talks* to build up and strengthen a cultural army of the proletariat, to overthrow the exploiting classes by means of revolutionary violence, and, immediately after the overthrow of these classes, to destroy the remnants of old ideas and repudiate the revisionist ideas which may emerge in new society, thus preventing a capitalist comeback.

The revolutionary, progressive writers in Asia and Africa must firmly take the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the principles in the *Talks* in throwing themselves into the people's revolutionary struggle and use their pens as weapons to serve the proletarian revolutionary cause.

(To be continued.)



Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights the Whole World

The "Magic Lantern"

A Norwegian vessel arriving from Europe anchored at Whampoa Harbour recently. Towards dusk, a Venezuelan stoker came up to a Chinese inspector on duty and asked whether the seamen's club had the "magic lantern." Not receiving a satisfactory reply from the puzzled Chinese, he went ashore directly to the club.

A short while later, the stoker returned and excitedly told the inspector: "I found the 'magic lantern'!" He showed the latter a copy of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* translated into Spanish and told him the following story:

"It happened last year. I read one of Chairman Mao's articles that was brought home from China by a Venezuelan seaman. The domestic reactionary government had banned Chairman Mao's works and threatened to jail anyone found reading them. It tries to blockade the thought of Mao Tse-tung. However, the truth cannot be blocked and the wings of a crow will never blot out the light of the sun. That friend mailed the books he brought from China page by page to his friends who in turn passed them on to others. Shortly afterwards, he was arrested by the reactionary government and thrown into prison.

"The threats and lures of the reactionary government have not shaken my friend's faith in Mao Tse-tung's thought. He tried in every way to get people to bring Chairman Mao's works right into the prison, and he organized fellow-prisoners to study these truths pointed out by Chairman Mao: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,' 'People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.'

"These teachings of Chairman Mao have immensely raised the courage and confidence in victory of the Venezuelan revolutionaries in their struggle in prison. Chairman Mao's teachings also show us the only road to liberation, that is, to take the road of the Chinese revolution and carry out armed struggle. At present, thousands of young people in Venezuela have taken up arms and have gone to the mountain and they are carrying out a life-and-death struggle against imperialism and the reactionaries' government. I love to read Chairman Mao's books most because they say what we, the working people, cherish in our hearts

and point out the orientation of our struggle. They are really the 'magic lantern' that points the way for us! Relying on the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the people of Venezuela will certainly drive U.S. imperialism out and achieve genuine national independence and liberation."

Soviet Revisionists Are Powerless

Three Somali students have recently returned to Mogadishu from the Soviet Union. While visiting an old friend, they were struck by the decorations inside his house as soon as they entered: on one of the walls was a beautifully framed picture of Chairman Mao in army uniform, his face glowing with health and vigour, and his hand raised to greet the million Red Guards passing by the Tien An Men rostrum. On another wall was another portrait of Chairman Mao, with six quotations on each side from his statements on imperialism. On the desk lay the brightly red book, *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. The guests were deeply moved. Gazing at Chairman Mao's pictures, they picked up the red book to read, copied quotations, and all felt very happy.

They told their host: "All of us longed to get copies of Chairman Mao's portraits and works which, however, are not available in the Soviet Union, because the Soviet revisionist authorities forbid their being sold." One of the students added: "Wide sections of the Soviet people and students from Asia, Africa and Latin America studying in the Soviet Union are all eager to study Chairman Mao's works. Many of them have already managed to get copies and have started to study them."

Why Does He Want to Wear a Badge?

In a letter to Chinese friends in London, a young Englishman wrote: "Could you please send me a badge or some kind of emblem which I can wear to show openly my support for Mao Tse-tung and the glorious Chinese people, an emblem I can wear to show my hate for U.S. imperialism which is invading our country, taking over our industry and affecting the minds of the British people with its poisonous propaganda and its lies about Vietnam and communism." He continued with enthusiasm: "I wholeheartedly support the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

Well-Justified Rebellion

The revisionist line pursued by a handful of revisionist elements in the Japanese Communist Party against Marxism-Leninism, the revolution, the people and China has aroused increasing resentment and opposition among Japan's Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary masses. Using Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, as their weapon and holding high the banner of revolution, some Japanese Communist Party grass-roots organizations have come out strongly against these revisionists. This is an excellent rebellion, a well-justified one.

These Japanese Communist Party revisionists are sliding further and further down the road in their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. They use sophistries about "class collaboration" to emasculate the theory of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. They behave like bourgeois parliamentary cretins and follow a policy of class capitulation. All this is done in the hope of saving their skins under the capitalist order. They substitute national chauvinism for proletarian internationalism, tail closely behind the ruling Soviet revisionist clique in its frenzied anti-China campaign and act as the Sato government's cat's-paw in antagonizing China, thus unscrupulously undermining the friendship between the Chinese and Japanese people. Casting the revolutionary cause of the Japanese proletariat and people to the winds, these revisionists have turned into out-and-out lackeys of Japan's reactionaries.

The degeneration of the Japanese revisionists is no accident. This is a new epoch in which imperialism is heading for total collapse, while socialism is approaching worldwide victory. A life-and-death struggle, a battle of decisive significance, is going on between the counter-revolutionary forces of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries on one side and the world's revolutionary forces of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people on the other. In this decisive battle every political force must make clear where it stands, either on the side of revolution or on the side of counter-revolution. The revisionist elements of the Japanese Communist Party who submit to the pressure of U.S. imperialism, the ruling Soviet revisionist clique and the reactionaries at home shake in their boots at their counter-revolutionary blustering. On the other hand, slapped on the back and corrupted by the bourgeoisie, they have become worker-aristocrats who lead a bourgeois life divorced from the great mass of the labouring people. Since they fear revolution and are no longer willing to make it, they eventually have ended up opposing the revolution and as traitors to the Japanese proletariat.

Where the tyranny of imperialism and the reactionaries holds sway the people are bound to rise in revolution. Communists who abandon the people's revolutionary demands will find themselves repudiated by the people. Where there are revisionists, there are bound to be Marxist-Leninists who come forward to oppose them. This is the dialectics of history. In the case of Japan, there naturally can be no exception.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: "Although opportunists wishing to stem the tide can be found almost everywhere, it is impossible for them to do so. Socialism is advancing triumphantly everywhere, brushing aside all obstacles on the way. This is how society advances with the time, with the ideology of the people being remoulded, particularly when the revolution is in high tide."

The handful of revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party, while wanting no revolution themselves, forbid others to make revolution. Not satisfied with exercising fascist rule inside the Party, they have conspired with the Japanese reactionaries in attacking and victimizing genuine revolutionaries. Such actions which confound right with wrong can only hasten their own collapse.

Japan's genuine Marxist-Leninists and genuine proletarian revolutionary fighters have demonstrated the lofty spirit of revolutionaries by scorning brute force, defying difficulties, upholding the truth and daring to rebel. In them lies the hope of the Japanese people and Japan's future. The Marxist-Leninist forces of Japan, by relying on the proletariat and the masses, will grow mature and strong in the course of hard-fought, complex and tortuous struggles. As for these revisionists, they will certainly be dumped on to the garbage heap of history.

(June 16)

Slander Will Not Dim a Fighter's Glory

Michiko Kanba died a Japanese national heroine seven years ago. She was murdered in cold blood by U.S.-Japanese reactionaries in a demonstration against the Japan-U.S. Military Alliance Treaty in 1960. Today, while Japan remains in the grip of dangerous beasts, the handful of revisionist elements in the Japanese Communist Party have seen fit to behave like a pack of rats, living selfishly at the expense of others. In times like these, people cherish all the more the memory of this fighter who heroically dedicated herself to the cause of Japanese national liberation.

In 1960, our great leader Chairman Mao praised the Japanese people for their patriotic anti-U.S. struggle.

Chairman Mao pointed out that the Japanese people had found a good way, in the current situation, to oppose the new "Japan-U.S. Security Treaty" and U.S. military bases and drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces, i.e., to unite the broadest possible forces, with the exception of U.S. imperialism and its agents, in order to carry out a nationwide mass struggle against U.S. imperialism and its agents.

Michiko Kanba was a daring pathbreaker in this mass struggle. Chairman Mao paid high tribute to her martyrdom. He said she had become a world famous Japanese national heroine.

Though murdered by the Japanese reactionaries, Michiko Kanba lives on in the hearts of the Japanese people. What rouses one to fury is that the handful of revisionist elements in the Japanese Communist Party, in order to deceive the Japanese people, deliberately misrepresent the facts and repeatedly spread shameless rumours, slandering this national heroine as a Trotskyite.

By such slander, however, these revisionists have revealed their own hideous nature: they are afraid to wage a blow-for-blow struggle against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. By attacking Michiko Kanba, they vainly hope to restrain and obstruct the struggle of the

Japanese people against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries.

The modern revisionists are themselves afraid of revolution and forbid others to make revolution. They all resort to the same vicious tactic of labelling anyone who upholds revolutionary principles and who dares to make revolution as a Trotskyite, and stigmatizing revolutionaries as counter-revolutionary. This is true of both the Khrushchovite revisionists and the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party. But their manoeuvre can deceive nobody, still less frighten a genuine revolutionary. In fact, Trotsky's mantle has fallen on none other than the modern revisionists themselves, who have proceeded from fearing and forsaking revolution to opposing it outright. The ruling Soviet revisionist clique and its followers are the very ones who are today wallowing in the mud with the Trotskyites.

In Japan, one Michiko Kanba has fallen, but millions of Michiko Kanbas have risen up. The revolutionary banner forsaken by the Japanese revisionists will be held still higher by Japan's genuine revolutionaries. The lustre of Japanese national heroine Michiko Kanba will shine for ever, whereas the stinking renegades, the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party, will be reviled for thousands of years.

(June 18)

(Continued from p. 45.)

experiences gained by the people in their struggle against imperialism, revisionism, colonialism, old and new, and for national liberation have proved that Mao Tse-tung's thought is a common asset of the revolutionary people of the world.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most revolutionary theory of our epoch, the theory that gives scientific and incisive answers to all problems coming up every day in the revolutionary movement of our times. We see the complete correctness of Mao Tse-tung's teachings on the anti-imperialist united front, on the universal truth that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, the great significance of his complete theories on strategy and tactics in a people's war. Mao Tse-tung's thought stresses the necessity of practice and of mastering theory and applying it, "master it for the sole purpose of applying it." It is essential to integrate Mao Tse-tung's teachings with practice, apply it as the guide to action in mobilizing the masses in their struggle against imperialism, revisionism, colonialism, old and new, and for national liberation.

IV. Conclusion

The Secretariat of the A.A.J.A. will continue to hold high the banner of fighting against imperialism, against old and new colonialism, against Soviet revisionism and against all the reactionaries of the world.

It will continue to firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world.

The Afro-Asian revolutionary journalists should stand in the forefront of these struggles and should join themselves with the revolutionary masses, expose with their weapon, the pen, the crimes committed by the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists in Asia and Africa and encourage the struggles of the Afro-Asian people.

The A.A.J.A. calls on the Afro-Asian revolutionary journalists to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought, to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought and help the Afro-Asian people to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, so as to promote the revolutionary cause in this area.

ACROSS THE LAND

China Reaps Good Summer Harvest

Good summer harvests have been reported from all parts of China. "The summer food-grain harvest will be a bumper one," forecasts a *Renmin Ribao* editorial.

In Kweichow Province, southwest China, harvesting of wheat, barley, peas, broad beans and potatoes has in the main been completed and large increases were registered. Estimated to be larger than last summer's by at least 20 per cent, this will be the biggest summer harvest in the history of the province.

In east China, barley and hull-less barley have reached the threshing floors of Shanghai's ten suburban counties. They expect crops 10 to 30 per cent larger than last year's.

Harvesting has begun on Shansi Province's 17 million mu (1 mu = 0.066 hectare) of wheat and other summer crops. This north China province also expects a much bigger harvest than last year.

Tenghsien County, a main food-grain producer of central China's Honan Province, is harvesting an unprecedentedly good crop on its 1.5 million mu of wheat land. It expects to get in 30 per cent more wheat than in 1966.

Harvesting is under way on 2.5 million mu of wheat on Peking's outskirts and it seems clear that even last year's good harvest will be exceeded.

Great Victory of Mao Tse-tung's Thought. This year's big increase in the nation's summer food-grain crop is the result of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres creatively studying and applying the works of Chairman Mao in the current great proletarian cultural revolution and

arming themselves ideologically with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Since the autumn of last year, they have enthusiastically answered the call of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao to bring about a new upsurge in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. They have concentrated especially on studying our great leader's "three constantly read articles"—*Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*—to establish more firmly the idea of farming for the revolution. They resolutely answered Chairman Mao's call to "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production" and worked conscientiously according to his strategic principle of "preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities and everything for the people."

Propaganda teams organized by local garrison P.L.A. commanders and fighters to spread the thought of Mao Tse-tung worked in the fields and helped the poor and lower-middle peasants to develop more profoundly the mass movement to study Chairman Mao's works. Inspired by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the people with tremendous drive got the autumn sowing done earlier and better than usual.

This spring the broad masses of proletarian revolutionaries in the countryside began a great struggle against and a great wave of criticism and repudiation of the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists shielded by them. This has spurred mass enthusiasm for revolution and production. In the evening, they engage

in revolutionary activities, holding criticism and repudiation meetings; in the daytime, they work hard in the fields. In many places, with the help of the P.L.A., command posts to "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production" at all levels have been established to strengthen political and ideological work and leadership in production. Educated and tempered in the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the revolutionary cadres of the rural areas are putting greater trust and reliance on the masses and are showing greater respect for their initiative than ever. When tasks are assigned, they make it a rule to mobilize the masses to hold democratic discussions, listen to the opinions of the masses and pool their wisdom and strength for production. All this laid a good foundation for this summer's bumper harvest.

All-Out Help From P.L.A. and Cities. Everywhere, P.L.A. commanders and fighters, Red Guards, revolutionary teachers and students of middle schools, universities and colleges, and government cadres are helping with the summer harvest. They know that this is a political task having a close bearing on the people's livelihood and the great proletarian cultural revolution. In the first week of the harvest in Peking alone, 200,000 people had already gone to the countryside. In addition to field work they are devoting their off-hours to studying Chairman Mao's works together with the peasants, editing blackboard newspapers to spread Mao Tse-tung's thought and publicize the great victories won over the past year by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. They also gave performances for the commune members. Teams of medical workers are both working in the fields and giving medical aid on the summer harvest front. Factories and government organs have also sent service teams to the people's communes to help repair farm tools.

ROUND THE WORLD

The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people

— Mao Tse-tung

ARAB PEOPLE

The Struggle Goes On

Despite setbacks on the battlefield and the imposed "ceasefire," there has been no let-up in the Arab people's struggle against U.S. and British imperialism and their flunkey, Israel. Rather, a prolonged fight by the people has just begun.

The Arab countries have already taken many measures to combat U.S. and British imperialism. They did so after the U.A.R., Syria, Algeria, Iraq, the Yemen, the Sudan and Mauritania had broken off diplomatic relations with the United States. Lebanon has ordered the U.S. Ambassador to go home.

Strikes by oil workers in many Arab countries have dealt serious blows to U.S.-British capital. In Libya petroleum production, which is controlled by U.S. monopolies, has halted completely. Oasis Oil, Esso Standard and Mobil Oil have closed their offices.

In occupied South Yemen, the oil workers refused to supply the British army and air force base with petroleum. Commandos of the people's forces blew up the pipe line linking the British oil refinery to Aden port.

In Kuwait, the Labour Union Federation demanded in a statement that the government sever diplomatic relations with the U.S. and British imperialists and stop all oil supply to them.

On June 18, the foreign ministers of the Arab countries meeting in Kuwait declared that the Arab oil producing countries stood firm on their decision to stop supplying oil to the United States and Britain which supported Israel. As a result of this sanction, the United States has been compelled to declare an "oil emergency."

The U.A.R. Government has decided to close the country's air space to American and British airliners and to forbid them to land at its airports. It has banned U.S. and British films.

Syria has closed down all American, British and West German schools, libraries and cultural centres.

Iraq has decided to boycott all imported goods from the United States, Britain and West Germany and prohibited showing of the three countries' films.

The Libyan Government has demanded that the United States and Britain remove their military bases and withdraw their troops from the country as soon as possible.

The Sudan Government has taken over the British Shell Oil refinery at Port Sudan. Sudanese employees of the British Barclay's and Ottoman Banks struck and demanded that the government take over these two British banks and all American and British capital in the country.

Algeria also announced the seizure of the Algiers and Oran branches of Barclay's Bank and banned all exports to the United States and Britain.

Having engineered Israel's sudden attack on the Arab countries, U.S. and British imperialism and their accomplice, the Soviet revisionist clique, are now plotting to use the United Nations to carry out their new aggressive schemes against the Arab countries. However, as the following Arab opinion shows, the Arab people are not to be deceived.

The Syrian *Al Baath*: The aggression has opened the eyes of the Arabs to a very important question, namely, they have not hated and combated international imperialism enough. The imperialist aggressors are not

only against the Arabs, but other nations and people as well. The people of the world will unite to oppose their common enemy.

The U.A.R. *Al Goumhuria*: Our people will no longer seek a middle-of-the-road solution, nor will they allow their destiny to be determined by compromise.

The Algerian *El Moudjahid*: The imperialists and their accomplices hope to force the Arab people to accept the fait accompli—the outcome of the U.S.-Zionist aggression. But what is uppermost in the minds of the Arab people is not negotiations and submission to the fait accompli. Quite to the contrary, they will intensify their fight in all fields. What they want is not to be roped in at the conference table, but to engage in a counter-offensive with ever increasing effectiveness.

The Palestine Workers' Federation: We have learnt to see who are our enemies and who are our friends. Those who fight against U.S. imperialism are our real friends and those who stand by the side of the United States and collude with it are our enemies. The Palestine workers will continue their armed struggle—the only way to drive out the U.S., British and Israeli aggressors.

SYRIA

Telling Blow at Aggressors

In their war of resistance against U.S.-Israeli aggression, the Syrian army and people fought gallantly side by side. They dealt the Israeli aggressors a heavy blow.

The whole nation threw itself into the battle on June 5. Youth flocked to the defence enlistment centres to get arms and went to various military training camps. At road crossings, armed civilians stood guard side by side with regular soldiers. They prepared sandbag defences, ready for street fighting. Many donated their blood.

At the start of their attack, the Israeli aggressors suffered a defeat on the Syrian front. The Syrian air force and anti-aircraft batteries brought down 54 Israeli planes on

June 5 alone. On the morning of June 6 the Syrian troops started a counter-attack and, after intensive fighting, captured Israel's Sheria-shouk Plain north of Hula Lake. They inflicted severe losses on the enemy.

The next day, the Syrian troops pressed ahead across the Plain of Hula towards Safad. Throughout the day, the Israeli aggressors threw large numbers of planes, tanks and artillery into action and launched many attacks, but all were repulsed by the Syrians. On that day alone, the Syrian forces wiped out one enemy infantry battalion, two mortar companies, one anti-tank rocket base, and smashed a number of enemy strategic posts and bridges.

On the morning of June 9, Syria followed the U.A.R. in accepting the U.N. Security Council's "ceasefire" resolution on condition that the other side should also cease fire. However, at this moment, the Israeli aggressors, who had already transferred some of their main forces from the other fronts, took advantage of the U.S.-Soviet sponsored "ceasefire" resolution and unleashed a massive offensive on the Syrian front.

Quneitra, a town about 15 kilometres from the border, became the target of heavy Israeli attacks. Seeking to cut off the Syrian troops

on the southern and central fronts, the Israeli aggressors on the morning of June 10 hurled a heavy force of tanks and planes against this town on the road to the Syrian capital, Damascus. But the army and people of the town, undaunted, fought on heroically against heavy odds, inflicting heavy casualties and material losses on the attackers. By the afternoon of June 10 they had flung back four successive enemy attacks. When the aggressors finally broke into the town, they were pinned down in street fighting. This battle foiled the Israeli plan to trap the Syrian forces on the central and southern fronts, and enabled them to retreat to their second line of defence without hindrance.

On the night of June 10, just after Israel had gotten the upper hand temporarily on the Syrian front, the United Nations came out with another announcement that the "ceasefire" between Syria and Israel "had come into force."

The army and people of Syria have maintained high morale and never relaxed their combat-readiness. Although the ceasefire is now in force, they are vigilantly watching the military activities of Israel, ready at any moment to strike harder blows at the enemy should they venture to renew their attacks.

ISRAELI-OCCUPIED AREAS

Guerrilla War

Palestinian guerrillas and U.A.R. soldiers are giving the aggressors no respite in Israeli-occupied Gaza and Sinai.

In the Gaza strip, the Palestinian liberation armymen have been harassing the Israeli patrols from concealed positions. Mines have been laid every night by guerrillas who are operating in the small forest outside Gaza city. The Israeli military have admitted that on June 12 a jeep ran into a mine on the outskirts of Gaza city, resulting in two killed and three wounded. An army vehicle sent to their rescue was also blown up by a mine. Despite a strict curfew, Israeli soldiers are risking their lives if they venture out of doors at night in Gaza city, reported AFP.

U.A.R. troops who are cut off in the Sinai desert are also keeping up the fight despite a shortage of water and food. On June 12, they killed two Israeli aggressors. Moshe Goren, Israeli military chief in Gaza, reluctantly admitted that U.A.R. soldiers hiding among sand dunes near the highway had refused to surrender. "You will get killed if you walk a little distance away," he said.

PEKING REVIEW

June 23, 1967
Vol. 10, No. 26

Published in English, French, Spanish, Japanese and German editions

IN THIS ISSUE

THE WEEK
**Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao See
Taking the Bandits' Stronghold**
**China's First Hydrogen Bomb Success-
fully Exploded**
Welcome to Zambian President Kaunda

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

**On the Correct Handling of Contradic-
tions Among the People
— Mao Tse-tung**

**A Theoretical Weapon for Making Revolution Under
the Dictatorship of the Proletariat — Hongqi
editorial**

**Distinguishing Correctly Between Two Types of Social
Contradictions — Renmin Ribao editorial**

**Model for Great Alliance of Proletarian Revolu-
tionaries**

5	Congratulations on China's First H-Bomb Explosion China's Millions Acclaim Successful Explosion of Its First H-Bomb	36
27	The Raging Tide of the Arab People Against U.S. Imperialism Is Irresistible — Renmin Ribao edi- torial	37
33	Heighten Vigilance, Persevere in Struggle — Ren- min Ribao Commentator	38
34	Grasping and Defending Mao Tse-tung's Thought — The Absolute Task of Revolutionary Journalists Study and Propagate Mao Tse-tung's Thought to Promote the Revolutionary Cause of Asia and Africa	40
9	Resolutely Repel the Indian Reactionaries' Provoca- tions	41
27	World Enters New Era in Which Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Great Bonner	43
33	Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights the Whole World "Renmin Ribao" Commentaries	46
34	ACROSS THE LAND ROUND THE WORLD	49
		51
		52
		54
		55